APPENDIX II
ADITIONS OF GITA GOVINDA
(IN ORDER OF THE YEAR OF PUBLICATION)

Appendix II

EDITIONS OF GĪTA GOVINDA

(In order of the year of Publication)

Editions of the *Gīta-Govinda* in order of the year of publication

No.	Edition	Year
1.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Calcutta Litho Press: No. title page. Devanagari.	1808
2.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. Haeberlin, John (in *Kāvyasaṅgraha*) Calcutta. Pages 69-114) Devanagari.	1847
3.	*Gīta Govindamamkitambuga, Andhra pratipadatika sāhitambuga*). Jyotisakalanidi Press, Madras. Telugu script.	1956
4.	*Gīta-Govindamamkitambuga*: Sarasvatinilaya Press, Madras. Telugu script.	1856
5.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. by Ketkar, G. R. and Amaragurkar, M.S. Poona. Pages 32.	1862
6.	*Gīta-Govinda* and *Rādhā-Vinoda* with commentary ed. by Narayan Vrittadeepa Press: Bombay. Pages 135.	1865
7.	*Iti Śrī Gīta-Govinda Tīkāyām dvādaśaḥ sargaḥ : Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* by Chaitanya Das. Calcutta. No title page: Title from Colophon. Pages 120.	1872
8.	*Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā.* N. L. Sīla Press, Calcutta. Pages 110.	1873
9.	*Gīta-Govindamamkitambuga.* Vidvanmoda Taraṅgi Press, Madras, Pages 72. Telugu script.	1873
10.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Published in *Kāvya sangraha,* Part I. Pages 69-109. Calcutta. See No. 2 above.	1873
11.	*Aṣṭapadī Gīta-Govinda.* Vidyavilasa Press, Calcutta. Pages 58. Malayalam script.	1874
12.	*Gīta-Govinda Kāvyamanu perugala aṣṭapadiya sugranthamu Idi.* Pratipada *Ṭīkā Sahitambhuga.* Sarasvatinilaya Press. Madras. Telugu script. See Nos. 3, 4 and 9 above.	1877
13.	*Gīta-Govinda Kāvya aṣṭapadī granthah.* Parabrahma Press, Trivallore. Pages 48. Grantha characters.	1881
14.	*Aṣṭapadī Gīta-Govindam.* Vidyavilasa Press, Calicut. Pages 66, Malayalam script. See No. 11 above.	1881
15.	*Gīta-Govindamamkitambuga* (*Andhra pratipadatika Sahitam*) Jnana Suryodaya Press, Madras. Pages 74. Telugu script.	1882
16.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Edited by Bhattacharaya Jibananda Vidyasagar & commentary. Saraswati Press, Calcutta. Pages 113.	1883
17.	*Gīta-Govinda.* With commentary. No title page. Calcutta.	1883
18.	*Atha Śrī Gīta Govindam Kāvyam Saṭīkam.* Niranaya Sagar Press. Pages 128.	1883
19.	*Gīta-Govinda with Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā.* N. L. Sils Press, Calcutta. See No. 8 above.	1883
20.	*Gīta-Govindam Kāvyam.* Aryotkarsa Press, Bombay. Pages 68.	1885
21.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. Bhattacharya Jibanand Vidyasagar. (in *Kāvya-sangraha* 2nd ed.). Calcutta. Pages 643-688. See No. 16 above.	1886

22. *Gīta-Govindam : Saṭīkam Rādhāvinodam cha.* Vankateswara Press, Bombay. Pages 23. 1886
23. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam.* Commentary by Bhattacharya Jibananda Vidyasagar. Saraswati Press, Calcutta. Pages 113. 1888
24. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam* and *Rādhā Vinodam : Bhāṣā Ṭīkā* in Hindi by Amritlal Bhattacharya. Sri Venkateswara Press, Bombay. Pages 186. See No. 22 above. 1891
25. *Gīta-Govindākhyam Kāvyam* with Vanamali's *Sañjivinī Ṭīkā.* Nawal Krishore Press, Lucknow. Pages 110. 1895
26. *Śrī Gīta-Gobindam* with *Ṭīkā* of Shri Pujari Goswami. Victoria Pustakalaya, Calcutta. Pages 172. Bengali script. 1897
27. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam Aṣṭapadī granthah.* Vyavahara Tarangini Press, Madras. Pages 35. Grantha characters. 1900
28. *Gīta-Govinda* with commentaries of *Rasikapriyā* of King Kumbhā and *Rasamañjari* of Sankara Misra ed. with various readings by Telang M. R. and Pansikar V. L. Niranaya Sagar Press, Bombay. Pages 176. 1899
29. Second edition of above. 1904
30. *Gīta-Govinda :* Selection of text included in Sanskrit Chrestomathic. Edited by Bohtingk, Otto. Pages 216-217. Leipzig. 1909
31. *Gīta-Govindam. Hindi Ṭīkā Sahita.* Hindi-Bangbasi Electro-Machine Press, Calcutta. Pages 93. 1910
32. *Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Edited by Narasimham. Chandra Press, Madras. Telugu script. 1911
33. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam (aṣṭapadī).* Madras. Vanibhusana Press, Madras. Pages 58. 1911
34. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam atha Rādhā Vinodam cha.* Lakshmi Venkateswara Press, Bombay. Pages 212. 4th Edition of No. 24 above. 1911
35. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam tathā Rādhāvinoda kāvyam cha :* Hindi Ṭīkā by Pt. Vastirama. Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Pages 161. 1913
36. *Śrī Gīta-Govindam Mahākāvyam.* Sastra Sanjivini Press, Madras. Pages 32. Grantha characters. 1914
37. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam Rādhāvinodakāvyam Kṛṣṇāṣṭottara śatanāma stotram ṣaṭpadī stotra sahitam cha.* Native Opinion Press, Bombay. Pages 64. 1915
38. *Gīta-Govinda* with Telugu commentary. Adi Saraswatinilaya Press, Madras Pages 272. Telugu script. 1918
39. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam Rādhāvinoda kāvyam cha* with Hindi *Ṭīkā* by Maharaj Dindiksit. Vishveshvara Press, Banaras. Pages 171. 1922
40. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam* with Hindi *bhāṣā Ṭīkā.* Gokul Press, Banaras. Pages 158 1952
41. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam tathā Rādhāvinoda Kāvya Śrī Rādhākṛṣṇa Samvāda Sahitam* with Hindi *bhāṣa Ṭīkā* by Sharma. Rameshwaradatta Vidyavilasa Press, Darbhanga. 1926
42. *Gīta-Govindam.* Vānivilāsa Press, Srirangam. Pages 27. 1926
43. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda Mahākāvyam.* Sastra Sanjivini Press, Madras. Pages 44. Grantha characters. 1928
44. *Gīta-Govinda* with commentaries *Rasikapriyā* of King Kumbhā and *Rasamañjarī* of Shankar Misra, ed. by Telang. 8th revised edition by Mathuranath Sastri,

Niranya Sagar Press, Bombay. See 28 & 29 above and No. 46 below. 1937

45. *Aṣṭapadī Gīta-Govinda Mahākāvyam*. Ed. and introduction by C. R. Srinivas Iyengar, Madras. Pages 260. 1948

46. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam* with commentaries *Rasikapriyā, Rasamañjarī* and extracts of commentaries *Dīpikā Padadyotanikā Sañjīvanī* and *Bālabodhinī* edited by Acharaya Narayana Ram. Niraṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay. Pages 206.
9th edition of No. 28 & 29 and 44 above. 1949

47. *Gīta-Govinda* with *abhinaya*. Ed. by and introduction by Sastri, Vasudeva K. Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. Pages 142. 1950

48. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda*. Ed. by Chaturvedi Shankarlal. Pustaka Mandir, Mathura. Pages 124. 1952

49. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam* with Sanskrit commentary of Prabodhananda Saraswati. Ed. by Haridas Das Navadvipa. Pages 308. 1956

50. *Gīta-Govinda* with *abhinaya*, Ed. and introduction by Sastri Vasudeva K. T. S., Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. Pages 142. 2nd edition of No. 47 above. 1963

51. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam* with King Mananka's commentary. Ed. by Kulkarni V. M. L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad. Pages 131. 1965

52. *Gīta-Govinda kāvyam*. Ed. and Hindi commentary by Kedarnath Sharma. Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series, Varanasi. Pages 72. 1968

53. *Gīta-Govinda Mahākāvyam* with various commentaries edited by Sarma, A. Deshpande. Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, Hyderabad. Pages 402. 1969

BENGALI

54. *Gīta-Govinda*. Text with metrical translation by Rasamayadasa. Serampore. Incomplete title page and last page missing. 1817

55. *Gīta-Govinda*. Text with metrical translation. Calcutta. Pages 136. 1850

56. *Gīta-Govinda*. Text with metrical translation by Rasamayadasa. Kamalaya Press, Calcutta. Pages 136. — See, No. 54 above. 1851

57. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī* Commentary by Chaitanya Dasa. Translation by Kavyanuragi Sahṛdaya and review by Yadunath Nyaya Panchanana. Suhash Yantra (No. 165) Calcutta. Pages 136. 1860

58. *Gīta-Govinda*. Text with metrical translation by Rasamayadasa. Nrityalal Seal. Calcutta. Pages 96. See No. 54 and 56 above. 1869

59. *Gīta-Govinda svaralipi*. *Gīta-Govinda* set to music by Kshetramohan Gosvami. Calcutta. Pages 151. 1871

60. *Gīta-Govinda* with Pujari Gosvami's commentary and translation by Rasamayadasa. Arunodaya Ghosh Vidyaratna Press, Calcutta. (Illustrated). Pages 136. See Nos. 54, 56 and 58 above. 1873

61. *Gīta-Govinda* with commentary of Pujari Gosvami, in fact *Bālabadhinī Ṭīkā* by Chaitanyadasa, translation by Rasamayadasa. Prachina Bharata Yantra, Calcutta. See Nos. 54, 56, 58 and 60 above. 1873

62. *Gīta-Govinda* with Pujari Gosvami commentary and prose translation by Gangopodhyaya. Kedarnath Suryodaya Press, Calcutta. Pages 124. 1880

63. *Gīta-Govindam* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* by Chaitanayadasa here called Pujari Gosvami, Bengali translation by Ram

Mazumdar. Kamalkanta Press, Calcutta. Pages 142. 1883

64. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with translation by Rasamayadasa. Ed. by Isanchandra Vasu. Viharilal Sarkar, Calcutta. Pages 193. See Nos. 54, 56, 58, 60 and 61 above. 1886

65. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭikā* and translation by Vidyabhushan Harimohan. Town Press, Calcutta. Pages 62. 1885

66. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭikā* by Chaitanyadasa and Bengali translation and introduction by Vidyabhushan Hari Mohan. Calcutta. Pages 62. 1886

67. *Gīta-Govinda* with Sanskrit commentary and Bengali translation by Vidyaratha, Prasanna Kumar. Janaki Press, Calcutta. Pages 112. 1886

68. *Gīta-Govinda prakṛta padyānuvāda.* Bengali translation by Giridhara. Edited by Shyamlal Vasaka. Art Union Press, Calcutta. Pages 87. 1888

69. *Gīta-Govinda.* Bengali metrical translation by Bandopadhyaya, Saratachandra and Ghose, Nagendranath. Calcutta. Pages 61. 1894

70. *Gīta-Govinda* with commentary by Pujari Goswami edited by Ghosh, Manindralal. Calcutta. Pages 61. 1897

71. *Gīta-Govinda* with Bengali translation. Calcutta. Incomplete. Title page missing. 1899

72. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭikā* edited and translation by Bhattacharya, Prasanna Kumar. The Translation & Publication, Calcutta Pages 170. See No. 67 above. 1901

73. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodinī Ṭikā*, translation and life of Jayadeva by Shyamalal Vasak. Basak & Sons. Pages 390. See, No. 68 above. 1901

74. *Gīta-Govinda* with Bengali metrical translation in *vaiṣṇava padalaharī* by Lahiri Durgadas. Natabari Chakrabarti, Calcutta. Pages 31. 1905

75. *Gīta-Govinda* with Bengali metrical translation by Bhattacharya, Bisweshwar. Vishva Kosa Press, Calcutta. Pages 95. 1905

76. *Gīta-Govinda padyānuvāda.* Verse translation by Mazumdar, Bijaya Chandra (Illustrated). Gurudas Chattopadhyaya & Sons. Calcutta. 1905

77. *Gīta-Govinda.* Bengali metrical translation by Mukhopadhyaya, Paravati Charan. Gupta Press, Calcutta. Pages 61. 1905

78. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam, Bālabodhini Ṭikā* and translation by Mukhopadhya, Avinashchandra. Lotus Library, Calcutta. Pages 208. 1911

79. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Pujari Goswami *Ṭikā*, Bengali translation by Ray, Satish Chandra. Kamal Printing Works, Calcutta. (Illustrated). Pages 264. 1912

80. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text and translation by Vedantatirtha. The Translator. Calcutta. Pages 88. 1912

81. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with Bengali translation by Mazumdar, Vijaya Chandra. Bengal Medical Library, Calcutta. Pages 143. See, No. 76 above. 1914

82. *Gīta-Govinda* with Bengali metrical translation by Bhattacharya, Raj Kumar. Calcutta. Pages 88. 1914

83. *Gīta-Govinda.* Bengali metrical translation called *Premamayī* by Pal, Mahatap Chandra. Sri B. Bandopadhyaya Press. Meherpur Nadia. Pages 92. 1918

84. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text and translation Mazumdar, Bijaya Chandra. Victoria

Press, Calcutta. Pages 143. See, No. 76 above. 1919

85. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Translation by Vidyarathna, Kalimohan. Bengal Library, Calcutta. Pages 52. 1920

86. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govinda.* In *Mahājanī Kīrtana padāvalī* (pages 289-336) ed. by Vidyaratna Kalimohan, Calcutta. 1922

87. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam* in *Kīrtan padāvali* (pages 337-385) Translation by Vidyaratna Kalimohan, Calcutta. See Nos. 85, 86 and 87 above. 1924

88. *Śrī Gīta-Govindam* (in Yogindranath Chattopadhyaya volume, page 257-448). Calcutta. 1927

89. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation and commentary by Ray, Kalidas. Saratchandra Chakaravarty & Sons, Calcutta. Pages 98 and coloured illustrations. 1929

90. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Bengali translation by Das, Narahari. Aksaya Press, Calcutta. Pages 140. 1929

91. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with Bengali metrical translation by Shankaradas, Vimala. Gupta Friends & Co. Calcutta. Pages 12. 1936

92. *Kavi Jayadeva O Śrī Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. and translation by Mukhopadhyaya, Harikrishna. Gurudas Chattopadhyaya. Pages 292. 1929

93. —do— 2nd edition. Pages 160. 1950

94. *Gīta-Govinda* (as part of *Kīrtana Padāvalī*). Ed. by Vidyaratna, Kalimohan. Pages 337-385. Biswanathdasa, Calcutta. 1953

95. *Chitra Jayadeva O Gīta-Govinda.* Text with metrical translation by Chattopadhyaya, Nripendra Krishna. Deva Sahitya Kutir, Calcutta. Pages 288 and illustrations. 1954

96. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Ed. with metrical and prose translation by Anand. Akshya Library, Calcutta. Pages 157. 1955

97. *Gīta-Govinda.* Edited with *Bālabodhinī* commentary and translation by Mukhopadhyaya, Harikrishna. Gurudas Chattopadhyaya. Pages 150. See, Nos. 92 and 93 above. 1955

98. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Ed. with Sanskrit commentary of Prabodhananda Saraswati. Haridas Das. Nabadvipa. Pages 308. 1956

99. *Gīta-Govindam.* Ed. with *Vanamālī* commentary and Bengali translation by Mukhopadhyaya, Avinash Chandra. Gopaladas Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta. Pages 208. 1961
See No. 78 above.

100. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Mazumdar, Vijaya Chandra. Nutun Sahitya Bhavan, Calcutta. Pages 158 with illustrations. 1964

101. *Kavi Jayadeva O Śrī Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* and translation by Mukhopadhyaya, Hari Krishna. Gurudas Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta. Pages 182. 1965
See Nos. 92. 93 and 97 above.

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102. *Gīta-Govindākhyam* with commentary of *Vanamāli.* Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. Pages 110. 1895

103. *Gīta-Govinda.* Hindi translation by Chattopadhyaya, Kevalaram, Calcutta. Pages 93. 1896

104. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with Hindi translation by Pande, Rupanarayana. Lucknow Printing Press, Lucknow. Pages 89. 1905

105. —do— 2nd edition. Lucknow Printing Press, Lucknow. Pages 91. 1914

106. *Gīta-Govindādarśa.* Text with metrical translation by Nagara, Rayachander. Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. Pages 112. See, No. 102 above. 1926 (10th Edition).

107. *Gīta-Govindam.* Ed. with Hindi commentary by Chaturvedi Shankarlal. Pustak Mandir, Mathura. Pages 124. 1954

108. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with translation by Sharma, Vinayamohan. Atmaram & Sons, Delhi. Pages 150 and line drawings. 1955

109. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Nagarjun. Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 77. 1955

110. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam.* Edited with Hindi commentary *Indu* by Sharma, Kedaranath. Chowkambha Sanskrit Series, Varanasi. Pages 72. 1961

111. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda.* Text and translation by Goswami A. Yamuna Vallabh Goswami, Vrindavana, with illustration. 1969

112. *Gīta-Govinda* with Hindi translation by Chiranjiv Das. Vasanti Prakashan, Raigarh. Madhya Pradesh. 1969

113. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Sanskrit Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* and Hindi translation by Sarma Gurudatta, with notes on *Rāgas.* Bobbay Shridhara Shivalal. Pages 160. No date (possibly around 1960)

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114. *Gīta-Govinda.* Prose translation by Balakrishna, Kulavarma. Samaga Pustakalaya, Dharwar. Pages 104. 1956 2nd ed. 1960

115. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text and translation by Manjanatha, B.S. The Translation, Devanagere. Pages 107. 1957

116. *Gīta-Govinda.* Prose translation by Sitaram C.B. T.V. Smaraka Granthamala, Mysore. 1961

117. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Bhatt, Parameswara S.V. Sarasa Sahitya Prakashan, Mysore. Pages 56. 1961

MALAYALAM

118. *Gītagovinda Kāvya athavā Aṣṭapadī* with the commentary *Rādha-Kṛṣṇa Vilāsam* by Sarma, V.S. Translation by Variyar Ramapurathu. V.V. & Bros., Trivandrum. Pages 324. 1947

119. *Aṣṭapadī Gīta-Govindam* with *Kṛṣṇalīlā Vilāsa* commentary and Malayalam translation by Nambissan P. K. Guruvayoor. Pages 179. 1949

120. *Devagītā.* Translation by Pillai C. Krishna. A free translation of *Gīta-Govinda,* Mangalodayam, Trichur. Pages 137. 1950

121. —do— 2nd ed. 1961

122. *Gīta-Govindam Aṣṭapadī.* ed. with Malayalam commentary Bhavapriya by K. Vasudevan, Musatu Gita Press, Trichur. 1953

123. *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva by Vasudeva Musatu P. K. Bros. Kozhikode. Pages 44. 1961

124. *Gīta-Govindam Aṣṭapadī* with musical notations by Semmangudi R. Sreenivasa Iyer. Ed. by K. Achyutha. Poduval & Rama Nambiar, Tripunithura. Sanskrit College Committee. Pages 140. 1962
Also see No. 14 under Sanskrit.

MARATHI

125. *Gīta-Govindāchi Samashlokī prakṛta Ṭīkā Bhāvadīpikā* of Bhavacharya Astaputra. Balakrishna Ramachandra Sastri Thakar, Poona. Pages 23. 1860

126. *Gīta-Govinda ya Kāvyāche prakrita samaślokī bhāṣāntara* by Chetohardeva. Raoji Sadashiv Rasne, Poona. Pages 17. 1888

127. *Gīta-Govinda athvā Rādhākrishnacha Vilāsa* : Marathi translation by Gondlekar, R. S. Poona. Pages 20. 1890

128. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam.* Translated by Apte, Dattatreya Ananta. Dhananjay Press, Khanapur. Pages 78. 1911

129. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvya Kimvā Rādhā-Mādhava Vilāsa.* Text and translation by Apte, Dattatreya Ananta. Dattatreya Govinda Sedekar, Khanapur. Pages 88. See No. above. 1928

130. *Suśloka Govinda.* Translation by Srikhande, R. C. The Translation, Kolhapur Pages 118. Illustrations. 1934, 2nd ed. 1954

131. *Gīta-Govinda Mahākāvyachi prakprita samaślokī* (verse translation in Marathi) by Kshirasagara, Balashastri Padmakara & Tuka Brahmananda. P. B. Shastri, Poona. Pages 116. 1950

132. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Pathak D. P. Vra & Co. Bombay. Pages 40. 1963

METEI

133. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Translated by Nongmaithem Hera Singh. Published by Satsang Bhaven, Nambol, Manipur.

134. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Translated by Pt. Atombapu Sharma. Published by Bhagyavati Karyalaya, Sagolband Imphal, Manipur.

ASSAMESE

135. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Rama Saraswati. K. Dev Sharma, Gauhati. Pages 84. 1914

136. Assamese version of the *Gīta-Govinda* by Sharma, S.N.L. *Journal of the University of Gauhati No. 1.* Pages 71-78. 1950

ORIYA

137. *Gīta-Govinda.* Metrical translation by Dharnidhara. Mission Press, Cuttack. Pages 50. 1840

138. *Gīta-Govinda.* Cuttack Printing Co., Cuttack. Pages 96. 1878

139. *Gīta-Govinda.* Jagannath Press, Puri. Pages 94. 1904

140. *Gīta-Govinda.* Anglo Sanskrit Press, Cuttack. Pages 89. 1906

141. *Gīta-Govinda.* Arunodaya Press, Cuttack. Pages 89. 1906

142. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Dharnidhara. Madan Mohan Press, Puri. Pages 89. 1909

—do— Reprints in 1911, 1914, 1919, 1924

143. *Sachitra Gīta-Govinda.* Translated by Sahu, M. K. Cuttack. Pages 88 and illustrations. 1910

144. *Gīta-Govinda Rasavāridhi* by Brindaban Dasa and ed. by Mahanti, Artha Vallabh Prachi Samiti, Cuttack. Pages 106. 1929

145. *Saṅgīta Gīta-Govinda.* Translation and musical notation by Gopinath Jayadeva. Utkala Sahitya Press, Cuttack. Pages 59. 1913

146. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Mahapatra Jagabandhu Ramachandra Misra, Puri. Pages 74. 1939

147. *Jayadeva O Gīta-Govinda.* Metrical translation by Dharnidhara Dasa and notes by Sadasiva Ratha Sarma. ed. by Das,

Mohancharana. Manomohan Pustakalaya, Cuttack. Pages 192 and illustrations. — No date

148. *Odiyā Sāhitya Jayadeva* by Pradhan, Nagendranath. Friends Publishers, Cuttack. Pages 224. — 1971

149. *Sachitra Gīta Govinda bhāvārtha sarala udyare.* Meaning and translation by Narayana Pati. Cooperative Press, Cuttack. Pages 165 & illustrated. — 1929

GUJARATI

150. *Gīta-Govinda* translated by Bhatt, Kaviji Madhurji. — 1889

151. *Lagher Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. by Dhruva K. H. The Editor, Ahmedabad. Pages 136. — 1924

152. *Gīta-Govinda no gāyaka* by Desai, Balabhai Virachand. Gurjar Grantha Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Pages 98. — 1952

TAMIL

153. *Gīta-Govinda* with Abhinaya introduction in Tamil by K. Vasudev Sastri. Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. Pages 142. — 1950
See, No. 47 under Sanskrit. Contains English, Sanskrit and Tamil text.

154. *Gīta-Govindam* or *Aṣṭapadī.* Ed. by S. Visvanath Sastri. I. Swaminath Sastri. Sastre Sanjivini Press. Pages 32 (grantha script). — 1907
See, Nos. 13, 27, 36, 43 under Sanskrit, for other grantha editions No. 42.

155. *Gīta-Govinda Mahākāvyam Aṣṭapadī.* Ed. with introduction short life of Jayadeva. Appendices and notation according to South Indian Music by Aiyangar, Srinivas, C. R. Pages 261. — 1948
See, No. 45 of Sanskrit list.

156. *Gīta-Govindam.* Translated by S. Jagannarayanan. Ramakrishnapuram, Madras. Pages 179. — 1974

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157. *Gīta-Govinda. Aṣṭpadī* with Telugu commentary by Ramaswami Sastri Vavilla. Madras. Pages 64. — 1883

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The following abbreviations have been used in the index:
[Author = au., country = co., division = di., Manuscript = ms., river = ri., same as = s.a., town = tn., village = vi.]

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Jāur Gīta Govinda

JĀUR

GĪTA-GOVINDA

(a dated sixteenth century *Gīta-Govinda* from Mewar)

Kapila Vatsyayan



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Dedicated to the loving memory
of my father
who was a pillar of strength and sustenance
joy, love and light

PREFACE

Although conscious of the unique impact of the *Gīta-Govinda* and its phenomenal pervasive influence throughout India, I had no idea that the project entitled '*Gīta-Govinda* and the Indian artistic traditions' (on which I had launched some years ago) would assume such gigantic proportions. Over these years the more I have delved into it, the more humble and small I have felt before the subject of my enquiry. The tiny book of barely twenty-four cantos ascends to the fathomless depths of the ocean and the immeasurable perennial flow of the Ganges.

I had begun in the belief that the primary source material was largely known and that my task would be to pull together the diverse threads for a meaningful examination of the creative use of the principles of inter-dependence and inter-relationship of the Indian literary, plastic and performing arts, enunciated in the aesthetic theories. The primary objective was to undertake a case study of this artistic phenomenon through a single work so as to unfold the multiple dimensions of the poetic imagery and its manifestations through diverse media.

As I proceeded I realised that despite the hundred odd published editions, commentaries and translations of the *Gīta-Govinda* (now included in the bibliography), there was a vast body of primary source material extant in private and public collections which required investigation. This ranged from epigraphical records, commentaries, translations and imitations, based on the *Gīta-Govinda* to pictorial material in practically all schools of miniature painting. It was also necessary to undertake extensive field work in temples, melas, community gatherings, in order to assess its survival in the living continuities still vibrant in contemporary music and dance performance.

It soon became clear that neither a historical reconstruction nor a critical appraisal of the totality of the impact of the *Gīta-Govinda* was possible without a fuller examination of this hitherto unknown material.

The first pre-requisite was thus to list, collate, document the primary material, scattered all over India and some repositories abroad. Even a rough listing of the unpublished manuscripts aggregated 1500 or more. Besides, there were secondary sources from the field of poetics, music, dance and drama, which required to be perused, apart from the creative works of the different Indian languages. The documentation of the oral traditions accumulated to about two hundred hours of taped music, and this is by no means comprehensive.

The classification and analysis of this material became a task unto itself, primary and fundamental to any subsequent interpretative appraisal of the totality of the *Gīta-Govinda* traditions. A full investigation of this material will perhaps make it possible to identify the exact paths of mobility and the nature of interaction and communication which took place, and takes place, amongst regions and diverse arts and between levels of society.

While this task will remain an essential pre-requisite for a historical reconstruction, recognising the limitations of a single researcher for conducting such an inter-disciplinary study, the original methodology and approach has been slightly modified. It is now proposed to provide an annotated catalogue and bibliography of the primary source material (under preparation) for future researches. I am for the present restricting myself to an intensive analysis of a select number of unpublished manuscripts and commentaries. The annotated bibliography, when complete, will hopefully provide the basis for the rough chronology of the spread of the *Gīta-Govinda* over a period of six hundred years of Indian history.

Amongst the unpublished manuscripts is a valuable group of illustrated manuscripts and sets of miniature paintings based on the *Gīta-Govinda*. They are found in all parts of India and in Nepal, except Kashmir and the South. They range from the mid-fifteenth century to the late nineteenth century.

As a first step, it is proposed to consider each of these manuscripts and sets of paintings based on the *Gīta-Govinda* individually. Nearly forty such unpublished manuscripts, or sets of paintings, comprising about 600 paintings, have been located and fully documented. This has come as a welcome suprise, especially because I was strongly advised to exclude this area in the mistaken, though sincere belief, that all the illustrated manuscripts were known and published. While I am greatful for the advice of the eminent art historians, I am glad I did not accept it, because my research has belied this notion. Indeed, it is my belief that more illustrated manuscripts may still come to light.

Be this as it may, the discovery and full documentation of these illustrated manuscripts demands a full study of each one individually. The are significant both as primary incontrovertible data for determining chronology, and valuable for their intrinsic worth as pictorial expression. They provide the basis for exploring the nature of relationship between the poetic theme, phraseology and imagery and the pictorial interpretation. Each of these studies is planned as an indepth study from the point of view of the inter-relationship and interdependence of the diverse artistic media, especially textual and pictorial, and will not be restricted to mere stylistic analysis of each pictorial school. Perhaps this will fulfil one initial objective of the project, namely to investigate the power of the literary work for multiple interpretations and the creative use of the principle of inter-relationship and interdependence at the pan-Indian, as also regional, local, specific level.

Ten such monographs on the illustrated manuscripts and sets of paintings are planned. Critical volumes on the *Gīta-Govinda* and the history of the literary, pictorial and performing arts will follow.

For the present, five such monographs are in the press. They belong to different regions of India extending from Mewar to Assam. The Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* is the first amongst these individual monographs to be published. The manuscript is valuable both as a dated document, with a clear colophon, which enables us to establish chronology, comment on date, provenance, etc., and for the excellence of its literary and pictorial material. It raises many important questions of the development of languages and dialects and the evolution of miniature painting styles, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Although the monograph stands on its own, it must be considered as one of a series and as a unit of the larger study on the *Gīta-Govinda* and the Indian artistic traditions. It will, I hope, provide the basis for critically examining some fundamental assumptions of the Indian arts, particularly the processes and nature of interaction amongst regions, languages and the arts. Perhaps the analysis will also reveal the areas of dependence and autonomy of word, paint line, brush and colour. Further, it may unfold the manner by which a theme is interpreted concurrently at the universal mythical and local specific plane.

I am gratified that the National Museum of India should have decided to publish this first volume in their publication programme. I am grateful to the institution and to its officers, particularly Dr. N. R. Banerjee, Dr. P. Banerjee, Dr. C. B. Pandey, Shri B. S. Bisht and Shri J. C. Arora who have all been most cooperative and helpful. Dr. Grace Morley has always been gracious in sparing time to peruse manuscripts with meticulous care and offer many valuable and constructive editorial suggestions. To her, I offer my sincerest thanks. Shri B. M. Jawalia of the Saraswati Bhandar, Rajasthan, has helped in determining the exact data of the colophon according to the Christian era. Besides, he responded readily to my request for an edited version of the Mewari-Bagari text. This appears as an appendix. I am grateful to him.

Many museums and individuals have given permission for reproductions of paintings from collections. I am grateful to them all, particularly to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad, the Bharat Kala Bhavan, especially Dr. Anand Krishna and Shri O. P. Tandon, the Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, particularly Shri B. M. Jawalia, the Maharaja of Kankorali, through Shri U. P. Shah, the Gujarat Society Museum, Ahmedabad, particularly Shri Ramesh Patel, and many others. To Shri S. Sharma and Shri Krishan Kumar, I am indebted for typing the manuscripts and the bibliography.

Finally, I am grateful to the Jawaharlal Memorial Fund for the award of the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship. It provided the opportunity to conduct a research which has assumed, as I have said before, the dimensions of a life-long pursuit. I should particularly like to thank Dr. Karan Singh for his encouragement and interest.

On this occasion, I should also like to remember with deep gratitude two other persons. First my Guru, the late Amobi Singh, who was responsible for the first creative experience of the *Gīta-Govinda* in Manipuri. Indeed, the research was initially begun at his command and behest. Secondly, my revered father who provided the emotional security and support throughout the period of my fellowship. Although both are no longer with me physically, I know that their spirit will continue to provide the inspiration and faith to pursue the *Gīta-Govinda* for many more years. Also, I know that both would have rejoiced at this first tiny fruit of the many branched and hued tree which is the *Gīta-Govinda*. Gurūjī would have exclaimed : "Jai Radhe", "Jai Radhe".

New Delhi
27th May, 1979.

Kapila Vatsyayan

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to study the unique role of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the literary, pictorial, musical and theatrical history of the Indian arts between 1250-1850 many hitherto unpublished illustrated manuscripts of the *Gīta-Govinda* have come to light. These belong to diverse schools of Indian miniature painting and cover a vast geographical area ranging from Gujarat to Orissa and Assam. While an independent larger study is contemplated on the *Gīta-Govinda* and the Indian artistic traditions (literary, visual and the performing arts), the present monograph restricts itself to a consideration of an important illustrated manuscript acquired by the National Museum in 1976. Similar monographs on twenty other unpublished illustrated *Gīta-Govinda* manuscripts are envisaged as part of the larger study. This volume should be considered as one of the series.

The manuscript acquired by the National Museum is described so far, as a Gujarati illustrated manuscript of the 16th century. It raises some questions regarding both the language and the prose style of the text, as also the stylistic features of the paintings.

The accession details of the manuscript as per General Accession Register in the National Museum are :

Title: *Gīta-Govinda*
General Acc. No.: 76.115/1-30
Language: Gujarati
Script: Devanāgarī
Date: 1650 Saṁvat, *i.e.* 1593 A.D.
Total folios: 30
Illustrations: 28
Size of folios: 27 × 7 cms.
Size of illustrations: 22.5 × 7 cms.

The first observation on these details pertains to the language of the manuscript. Although on the face of it the language appeared to have some Gujarati case endings, a reference both to Shri U. P. Shah and the B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad, confirmed our initial finding that the text was not in old Gujarati. Shri B. M. Jawalia of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur, ultimately helped in deciphering the language and kindly sent a working Nāgarī

transcription and Hindi rendering of the text. He has now edited the text which appears in Devanāgarī as Appendix I.

At the outset it should be made clear that the text is in prose and that the author is not following the patterns of the *sargas* and *prabandhas* of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda*. It will also be evident that although the manuscript has been classified and catalogued initially as a *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript, it is in fact a work which may be identified as one modelled on the *Gīta-Govinda* in old Mewari (with words of old Bāgarī), but is not a faithful translation of the *Gīta-Govinda*. These initial comments are necessary in view of the fact that so far all the scholars who have had a first look at the manuscript have called it a *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript in Gujarati of the 16th century. These include Dr. Anand Krishna and Dr. B. N. Goswamy; the National Museum and the scholars will no doubt revise these tentative findings when they examine the manuscript more closely.

Based on the edited version and Shri Jawalia's reading of the text, a translation of the contents is presented. The textual and pictorial material has been correlated. Thereafter an attempt has been made to evaluate both its historical and artistic importance. Its provenance and the colophon make it an important piece of evidence for a re-assessment of the evolution of early Rajasthani painting. Its language and the method of narration assume significance in the context of literary drama or recitative forms.

Although it has not been possible to include here a complete faithful translation of the text, the gist of each folio and the *bhāvas* (sentences or sections) as literally as possible, has been presented to convey the main points of the narrative and the manner in which the theme is handled. The text and illustration folios have been placed in juxtaposition to give an idea of the relationship of the text and the illustrations.

Even from this somewhat abridged description of the thematic content of the work, it will be clear that although the work has been considered a *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript, it is in fact a text closely modelled on the *Gīta-Govinda*, but not an exact translation of the *Gīta-Govinda*. There are significant departures in the sequence of events. A closer comparison of this prose version and other similar versions in Gujarati, early Rajasthani and Mewari may well tell us of the existence of a *nāṭaka* based on the *Gīta-Govinda* which was called *Śrī Bhagavān Govinda Raṅgalīlā*. For the time being, however, we have looked at this text and illustrations alone for the few conclusions which are obvious and the many questions it raises both from the point of view of the text and the illustrations.

1. First is the question of provenance. The language and the colophon make it clear that this does not belong either to early Gujarati or to an *Apabhraṁśa bhāṣā* which is akin to Avadhī, etc. but is a Bāgarī-Mewari mixture. It is apparently from a village called Jāur (जाउर) or Jāvar. The exact location of the village is thirty miles from Udaipur. The village continues to be a centre of the traditional arts. The name, Kīratadāsa, may refer either to the author or the painter. The exact date works out to be 17th February 1594 A.D. and not 1593 A.D., so far given in the accession details of the National Museum.

2. The narrative reads in part as a story, but rather more

as a dialogue with three main characters — Rādhā, Sakhī and Kṛṣṇa. The dialogues are written in a simple style as conversation with many familiar similies and metaphors, but without the ornate elaboration of *rīti kāla* poetry of a slightly later date. The author's acquaintance with the original *Gīta-Govinda* is clearly evident in the manner in which the story proceeds alternating between separation and union. It is also obvious that although the sequence of many events is changed, the author was familiar with Rāṇā Kumbhā's commentary.

3. The appearance of the word *jhānkī* is significant: it points to a dramatic presentation of a tableaux type which begins to appear in the 16th century in many parts of Northern India. The word is used in two different senses: first in its primary meaning as glimpse, and the second in its derived meaning as referring to a *jhānkī* type of presentation. It may also suggest that the prose rendering may have been a pictorial representation of a play by that name. Also words like *ghūmar,* etc. for the dance tell us of the author's preoccupation with a typical dance form prevalent in Rajasthan.

4. The composition's heavy reliance on the *Gīta-Govinda* is borne out by both the colophon and the internal evidence of the text. Many passages are a faithful prose rendering of passages of the *Gīta-Govinda.* In others the author departs fairly radically and often he changes the sequence of events.

5. Finally, there is the important question of determining the stylistic features of the paintings, in relation to what has been termed as the Western Indian or Gujarati school by some and the Apabhraṁśa by others. Also, since the language and the provenance is Rajasthan, it would be necessary to investigate if a similar style was prevalent in other parts of Rajasthan by comparing it with other examples, both contemporaneous and those that precede and follow it.

While it is not the purpose of this monograph at this stage to attempt a comprehensive analysis of the manuscript from all these points of view, a few broad conclusions are self-evident.

The manuscript is valuable for a study of the spread of the *Gīta-Govinda* in different parts of India. Judging from the inscriptional evidence of Palhanapura[1] it would appear that the theme, if not the work, had already travelled to Gujarat within sixty to seventy years of its creation. Then occurs a larger gap because the next important commentary on the *Gīta-Govinda* appears only in the fifteenth century with the writing of Mānāṅka's commentary and Rāṇā Kumbhā's commentary on the *Gīta-Govinda* in 1463 (15th century).[2] To this period also belongs the earliest Gujarati series on the *Gīta-Govinda* to which Sri M. R. Mazmudar had drawn our attention as early as 1938.[3] This series, however, restricts itself to the Daśāvatāra theme. Literary works based on the *Gīta-Govinda* begin to appear in all parts of India, including Bengal, Orissa, Mithila, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh by the 16th century. A chronological history of this material is being attempted elsewhere and this will make the mobility pattern clear. Here it is sufficient to point out that prose works based on the *Gīta-Govinda* are as prolific as the commentaries and the imitations which indicate a *tāla* and *rāga* for each *prabandha.* The present work does not fall into the category of either the commentaries or the imitations meant to be sung or danced and which are

found in practically all parts of India. It belongs to a genre which was prevalent in Orissa where a dramatic presentation in prose was attempted. Amongst these the *Pīyūṣa Laharī* from Orissa is an important landmark. Other versions of a similar nature appear in Gujarati and Maithili.[5]

The manner of this dramatic recital is obviously in the form of a *jhānkī*, a tableaux-like presentation, in which many *līlā nāṭakas* were presented in Northern India.[6] The division of the *bhāvas* where the story moves from one situation to the other was a common feature of all the *līlā nāṭakas* of the period. Possibly this type of prose recitation accompanied a dramatic presentation.

Although the work under consideration does not follow the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and is closely modelled on the *Gīta-Govinda,* it has some interesting departures. The chief amongst these are the two seeming meetings of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in an intermediate stage without an actual consummation. These may be accounted for by the author's misreading the sections of the *Gīta-Govinda* where the fantasies of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa of reminiscences are vividly described. While the theme of separation and meeting is repeated in the work, its movement pattern does not have the same easy flow that we witness in the *Gīta-Govinda*. There are some abrupt passages and transitions. It would, for example, be difficult to break up the present work into the complete series of *nāyikā bhedas* so evident in the transition from one mood to an other in the *Gīta-Govinda*. Nevertheless, there is a clear movement of *vipralambha* and *sambhoga,* the two predominant aspects of presenting the *śṛṅgāra rasa*. Each of these is clearly and unequivocally presented both in the case of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The role of the *sakhī* is important and she presents a near perfect example of the conventional character with all the attributes of the poetic motif. In this respect it faithfully follows the *Gīta-Govinda* format. The role of the *sakhī* in persuading Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is indispensable to the conception, on many planes, both mystical and artistic.

Thematically, the illustrations have a vague but not a precise relationship with the text. Obviously the two media, *i.e.* the 'word' and the 'visual presentation', handle the same theme with an autonomy distinctive to each medium. The deduction that the illustrations are only a stimulus for the painter to interpret the theme according to his unique understanding would not be incorrect judging from this example and many others. Indeed, the painter takes a single word or a single sentence or motif to represent the mood pictorially. Variations and improvisations are many. The painter is nowhere trying to illustrate the text precisely or unimaginatively, a view point held by some in the context of Indian miniatures. What is perhaps nearer to the truth is the fact that the painter perhaps like the theatre director or the director of *jhānkī* type of presentation was choosing the most dramatic heightened moment for his presentation. In this respect the latter two were closer to each other than to the verbal expression, full of loaded imagery of the poet.

Finally, as regards the style of the paintings and the use of spatial demarcations, sense of the perspective, the linear drawing of figures, the use of the 'extended eye' or the 'farther eye', the pointed nose, the use of coiffures and garments, the manuscript is reminiscent of some others found in Gujarat, but never identical. It has, however, little or nothing in common with the *Gīta-Govinda* folios in the Prince of Wales Museum, known as the *Caurapañcāśikā*

group. Nor does it have any features of the other *Gīta-Govinda* paintings of the N. C. Mehta collection now in the Gujarat Museum Society or the one with the Maharaja of Kankorali, all identified as the early Western Indian by some and Rajasthani by others. Also, the style of these paintings does not make it a natural precursor of the two folios of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the National Museum and those others of the early 18th century in the Udaipur Museum or that of the Saraswati Bhandara (c. 1714 A.D. and c. 1654 A.D. respectively) or the Kumar Sangram Singh collection or the *Gīta-Govinda* in the Maharaja of Jaipur collection.[7] It has also little to do with the examples of early Rajasthani paintings brought to light by Ratan Parimoo and called Lodhi period by Karl Khandalavala.[8] It is also not akin to some folios of the *Gīta-Govinda* recently acquired by the City Palace Museum, Jaipur.

The rough chronology of some of these *Gīta-Govinda* sets so far accepted places them in this order:

(a) The *Gīta-Govinda*, Gujarati, published by Sri M. R. Mazmudar, 15th Century.[9]

(b) The *Gīta-Govinda* in the B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad, in a folk idiom, also published by M. R. Mazmudar. He places it in the 15th century and Sri Karl Khandalavala places it in the early 17th century.[10]

(c) The *Caurapañcāśikā* style *Gīta-Govinda*, dated 1525-1570 by Karl Khandalavala, considered to be from Jaunpur.[11]

(d) The *Gīta-Govinda* folios in the National Museum, also dated late 16th century by Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala (c. 1575 A.D.).[12]

(e) The *Gīta-Govinda* of the N. C. Mehta collection which N. C. Mehta places in the 15th century and Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala in the early 17th century (1610 A.D.).[13]

(f) A few folios (eighteen) of the *Gīta-Govinda* acquired by the City Palace Museum, Jaipur in 1977. Stylistically it is close to the *Daśamaskandha* of the Jodhpur Library or the *Daśamaskandha* of the Jagdish Mittal collection.[14]

(g) A *Gīta-Govinda* set in the collection of the Maharaja of Kankorali, some of its folios being in the same style as some folios of the N. C. Mehta collection. This set would also have to be placed latest at the end of the 16th or early 17th centuries.[15]

(h) A *Gīta-Govinda* set in the collection of the Maharaja of Jaipur. Stylistically it is closer to the Malwa idiom[16] and cannot perhaps be dated later than mid 17th century.

(i) The *Gīta-Govinda* set in the Saraswati Bhandara, Udaipur, judging from a colophon which appears in a manuscript of the *Kavipriyā* which precedes the *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript. This belongs to the mid-seventeenth century.[17]

(j) Some paintings of this set, *i.e.* (i) above, are close to the *Gīta-Govinda* in the collection of the Raja of Navalagarh, dated 1650 A.D. by Motichandra in the Lalit Kala Akademi publication on Mewar paintings.[18]

Thereafter follow other *Gīta-Govinda* sets in the various sub-schools of Bundi, Kishangarh and Jaipur and those of Basohli and Kangra in the 18th and 19th centuries which we need not take into consideration here.

Judging from the clear colophon of 1593 A.D., it would be reasonable to expect a style which would be nearer either to the sets mentioned at (b), above or certainly as (d), (e) or (f). It should also be expected that it may have something to do with the later sets mentioned at (i) and (j). Its date may even make us expect a style which may co-ordinate with the *Caurapañcāśikā* group.[19]

The present *Gīta-Govinda* belies all these expectations and takes us back visually to recollect vaguely the *Bālagopālastuti* series of the 15th century, some marginal figures of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and the features of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Digambar Naya Mandir of the 15th century.[20]

In short, this is a style which appears to have been abandoned by the mid 16th century by all the *Gīta-Govinda* sets mentioned above, and by many paintings of the *Laur-candā* group.

However, it also does not exhibit the formal elements of what is generally recognized as the Jaina School, identified with the *Kalpasūtra* or the *Kālakācārya Kathā* series, found in many collections in regard to division of spatial areas or the manner of presenting the narrations. The compositional pattern is closer to the Digambar Naya Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa* and yet not identical. The movements of the dancers, however, are rather vaguely reminiscent of the *Vasantavilāsa*[21] and the *Vaiṣṇava* paintings of Gujarat. But the similarity ends here. The impression of the overcrowding of the latter is totally absent here. Some paintings of the *Bālagopālastuti*, however, have this sense of space, where figures are freely interspersed.

First, let us take the distinctive feature of the format of these paintings. As will be clear from the accompanying photographs and the initial description, each of the folios is invariably divided into a number of sections. Only two or three present a single sequence spread throughout the painting area (*e.g.* folio 24). Normally there are three sections (*e.g.* folios 4, 6, etc.) but in some there are either two (folio 5) or in a few, four or five (folios 26 and 27). The maximum, as in two illustration folios, are five. Each of these is largely a single unit where one single dramatic event is presented unlike other miniatures of the Western Indian schools where multiple scenes or groups are evident in a vertical or horizontal arrangement in mutually exclusive self contained frames. Where the actual frame is broken, the trees serve as a space divider in the Western Indian or Apabhraṁśa.[22] In the matter of garments, ornaments and the coiffure patterns, the paintings have some features common to what we see in what has been called 'Western Indian' painting, but not early Rajasthani of the 17th century.[23] Therein the *dhotī* with a sash of Kṛṣṇa suggesting a *pītāmbara* and an *aṅgavastra*. In most scenes he is seen in this except in folio 4 (section one) where he sits with a short striped *dhotī* or shorts, with a tuft or hair on top, and in folio 6, where also he wears a short, *dhotī* or shorts of a criss-cross pattern. In some the longer *dhotī* has a printed design (folio 7, 1st section) while in most others it is a plain or a striped *dhotī*. In one folio (illustration folio 9) there is yet another variant of the short *dhotī*, which in this case comes down to the knee, with sash hanging in front. This type of *dhotī* is not seen in the various *Bālagopālastuti* series or in other *Vaiṣṇava* paintings of Gujarat. In the latter they are tighter, stiffer and more formal. The parallels with some *Vaiṣṇava* paintings are close but there is no immediate identity. Rādhā, the *sakhī* and other *gopīs* and dancers are

seen in a variety of costumes which can also be grouped under three or four types. There is a long flowing plain or printed *dhotī* of Rādhā and *sakhī*, which is obviously not a skirt, despite the impression that the gathers, or the sash in front, create. Rādhā and the *sakhī* wear a tight *cholī* as upper garment, a characteristic feature of many paintings of the 'Western Indian' or more specifically the Jaina School of the late 15th century but not always of the 16th century.[24] However, the *sārīs* of the present manuscript are never draped tightly around the legs and hips as is evident in the *Kaplasūtra* or *Kālakācārya Kathā*, (*i.e.* Devasāno Pāḍo or Jaunpur, or the Jamanagar *Kalpasūtra*) and others of the Jaina schools.[25] The *sārīs* here are loose and flowing and invariably reach only to the ankles. However, the *gopīs* with Kṛṣṇa or appearing solo as dance figures always wear shorts coming down only to the knee, a common feature of some marginal figures of dancers in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and many in the Jamanagar *Kalpasūtra*. These appear on folio 6 (section 2), folio 20 (section 2) and folio 27 (section 4) in the present manuscript. This costume of the 'shorts' of the dancers is an important clue for establising a link between the present manuscript and those others of the Jaina tradition[26] which precede it but are not contemporary. It is interesting to note that there are many continuations of the earlier style which are abandoned in other examples of the late 16th century. An interesting costume of the cowherd or a peasant or possibly Balarāma speaking to Kṛṣṇa appears in folio 28 (section 2) where we encounter a short *dhotī* and a headdress seen in the Kṛṣṇa and cowherd scenes of the *Bālagopālastuti* series,[27] and other *Vaiṣṇava* paintings from Gujarat. Important also, are the trees, the foliage and the depiction of clouds, the flowing river and the delineation of the animals. Most vivacious are the several folios where cows are seen. An unmistakable rhythm and a sense of movement and linear perspective are communicated through the pair or groups of cows in folios 2, 6, 9, 10, 13, 22 and 26. In each of these they appear to share the joy, distress or surprise of their master. The painter uses them as supporting motifs to create the mood, although there is no mention of their existence in the text. The rhythm and the movement of the animals is achieved through an easy flow of a clearly sketched outline which is drawn with a minimum of strokes. They are impressive for their brush-work and greatly enhance the lyrical, pastoral charm of the pictorial presentation. Again, although these are reminiscent of a similar depiction in the paintings of the *Bālagopālastuti* series, the present illustrator has a more flexible (less rigid) approach. Also the animals are invariably placed in an asymmetrical pattern, unlike the neat symmetry of the row of animals in the *Bālagopālastuti* as also in other *Vaiṣṇava* paintings from Gujarat. Clouds are depicted through a minimum of curvilinear lines, which serve as an essential background to indicate the passage of time and the hour of the day. Their curvilinear patterns are in deep contrast to the static and vertical portrayal of trees. The trees and the foliage are used to demarcate different painting areas, or to clearly distinguish the scene as being indoors or out-doors. The circular, rather formalized drawing of the foliage of the trees, emphasizes the rounded contours without minute details of leaves and branches. Also by the diminish-ing size of the trees, gradually receding, a new sense of perspective is created. This is a marked distinguishing feature of the paintings. Nevertheless, the few, but sure strokes (*e.g.* folios 5, 6, 9, 12 etc.) are most effectively used. This feature of an optical perspective distinguishes the illustrations from all the others to which they are being com-

pared. Finally, there is the depiction of the Yamunā in many of these folios. In each of them it is represented through two diagonals in a large horizontal area, with wavy or semicircular patterns suggestive of waves or the rhythm of water. In a few simply drawn fish can be seen. This device is a common cliché of many painting styles of the 15th and 16th centuries and helps in establishing locale and indicating distance for the journey which the heroine or hero has to undertake. In folio 7 (section 1) Kṛṣṇa's journey is thus represented and in folios 10 and 13 Kṛṣṇa's presence on the banks of the Yamunā is similarly effectively stablished. A sense of waiting and of being separated and yet longing for Rādhā is conveyed by changing the spatial arrangement in folio 22, where a triangular space in a corner (of section 1) represent the Yamunā. The feature of representing a river as a dividing line for different moods and for establishing locale is common and can also be seen in some of the paintings of the Western Indian, Jaina and Vaiṣṇava schools of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries,[28] and also in some early Rajasthani paintings.

But all said and done, these are all the externals of the formal composition of the painting. The format, the division of spatial areas, the delineation of animal and plant life ultimately are the outer elements. While the stylistic characteristics of the paintings result from these, their dominant characteristic features are dependent more on the portrayal of the human figure, the basic drawing and the groupings. It is here that one discerns the unique features of the illustrations of the manuscript. As has been pointed out before, although it discards the stereotyped formal treatment of the Western Indian Jaina miniature paintings, there is a distinct continuity. Dr. Anand Krishna suggests that the freer and less rigid composition was conditioned by the use of paper from palm-leaf and the comparative larger surface which the painter was using.[29] While this may be true we find that in plastic terms it is also a thicker brush stroke which accounts for the impression of a comparative freer movement, less sharp and defined than the 15th and early 16th century Western Indian Jaina or Vaiṣṇava miniatures. Indeed, if some of the marginal figures of the Devasāno Pāḍo or Jamanagar *Kalpasūtra* were enlarged and deliberately made slightly out of focus they may well lead to this type of portraiture. These illustrations achieve a sense of freedom without using a large surface area. We must remember the size of the folios. The oval face, with the pointed nose, the pinched cheek and the extended eye are dominant features of these illustrations, as they are of the other *Vaiṣṇava* paintings of the Western or Gujarat school.[30] However, the squat treatment of a few of the former is replaced by a linear draughtsmanship in this manuscript suggesting an elongation rather than a dwarfing. The arms are more often than not in an extended outflowing movement always covering larger space. This gives these paintings a much greater sense of freedom, fluidity and easier flow, without a feeling of crowding so dominant in the others. The movement of the arms of the Western Indian paintings of the *Bālagopālastuti* and some others are close but not exact parallels. While there are many affinities with these paintings, this illustrated manuscript is a class by itself for its creative skill and innovative spirit. It can be distinguished from all these other paintings, as also naturally from the *Gīta-Govinda* series in the Prince of Wales Museum of the *Caurapañcāśikā* group, and from those of the Gujarat Museum Society, the National Museum and the one with the Maharaja of Kankorali. The closest parallel perhaps which comes to mind is that of the illustrated *Pañcatantra* manuscript of the 15th century in the Bharat Kala Bhavan[31]

dealt with by Dr. Anand Krishna in the report on the Seminar on some Aspects of Jaina Art and Aachitecture. Although there are many divergences in the manner of draping, costuming, headgear and coiffure, the *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript is a continuation of the trends which seem to have set in by the late 15th century of breaking the rigid frames into unequal painting areas. The extended or the farther eye is conspicuously absent in all the *Gīta-Govinda* series which are considered to precede the present manuscript (*i.e.* the Prince of Wales Museum and the National Museum). It also disappears in the N. C. Mehta, Kankorali and City Palace Museum, Jaipur folios, all roughly contemporaneous with the present manuscript. However, we see a style very close to this style in the 16th century Pārśvanātha-Padmāvatī *vastrapaṭa* of the L. D. Institute. In this *vastrapaṭa* the further eye is used to great effect with a remarkable flexibility of approach. It is without doubt a creative and not a stereotyped use of the mannerism. Since in point of time the manuscript appears after the *Pañcatantra,* the Digambar Naya Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa,* as also the *Gīta-Govinda* in the Prince of Wales Museum and the National Museum (supposedly of 1525-1570 A.D.) and precedes those of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the B. J. Institute, the N. C. Mehta *Gīta-Govinda* and the Kankorali and possibly the newly acquired *Gīta-Govinda* by the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, and the Udaipur manuscript of the early 18th century, a few deductions are self evident.

One, a largely accepted one and one can only agree with it is that what one knows as the Western Indian school or Apabhraṁśa was not necessarily restricted to Gujarat and its environs and was extended over a larger area. The other, that the many stylistic and other features of the 15th century and early 16th century, identified normally as the Jaina *Kalpasūtra* paintings and the Vaiṣṇava *Bālagopālastuti* (*i.e.* early Western Indian or Apabhraṁśa) continued well into the late 16th century, although there was a breaking of many formal conventions of spatial arrangements with a new sense of a symmetry and a freer use of space, etc. This was coeval or even later than the emergence of other styles which have been referred to by several names, such as the *Caurapañcāśikā* and *Laur Candā* group, early Rajasthani, etc., all dated so far in the second half of the 16th century. It is also clear that this style can be clearly distinguished from the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and the *Bālagopālastuti* series because of a thicker brush stroke in contour drawing.

The colour scheme of the paintings presents a transitional stage from the rich definite red and blues of the Jaina paintings, to a completely different palette of contemporaneous Rajasthani paintings. In this respect they are very close to the *Bālagopālastuti* paintings. There is a pastel effect in many of these illustrations through the use of a dull brick red or, sometimes, a neutral background and a subtle use of deep blue, ochre and ultramarine. The halo of Kṛṣṇa and the stripes of the *dhotī* of Kṛṣṇa and those of the *sakhīs* are invariably in dull brick red, verging on a pink. In the illustrations where the background is in this red, the Yamunā is in blue with two delicate inner lines in red. Within the same folio there is often great variety such as (folio 15) where the first section has a blue background, the second a red, and the third with the *sakhī* a yellow background. An innovative spirit is evident in the use of colours and rigid conventions are being broken with ease, although there is no complete break. Many shades of the same colour are evident (folio 17), where the eye moves from a light blue to a deeper blue. The pallet is rich with colours ranging from brick red to mauve and shades of green.

And finally, attention must be drawn to three leaves of another *Gīta-Govinda* recently discovered in Rajasthan in a private collection. Although the style of writing is somewhat different, the format and the stylistic features are close parallels to the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda*. This *Gīta-Govinda* probably comprised 63 folios and each was illustrated. The illustrations of this manuscript clearly establish the fact that the style was popular in other parts of Rajasthan and that the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* was not an isolated phenomenon. The delineation of the figures, the treatment of the extended eye and the use of space are almost identical.

From the above it is clear that many tendencies so far considered as belonging only to the fifteenth century continue well into the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They are contemporaneous with the emergence of new styles, such as the *Caurapañcāśikā* and *Laur-Candā* group. These continuities have to be seen as a separate distinct stream, rather than merely as a folk idiom.

Our analysis of this *Gīta-Govinda* in relation to other illustrated manuscripts of the same theme from different regions in different styles over a period of a hundred years or so, also reveals the near pervasive popularity of the theme in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Malwa, and Jaunpur. During the later part of the sixteenth century and seventeenth century appear many other illustrated manuscripts from Orissa and Assam. These constitute another regional variation demanding separate attention.

On the basis of the stylistic analysis of this manuscript in relation to other *Gīta-Govinda* manuscripts immediately preceding and following it, it would be possible to say that the painting style of the *Mahāpurāṇa*, the *Bālagopālastuti* and that evident in the *Pañcatantra* gradually emerged into this freer spontaneous style and flourished thereafter for nearly a hundred years. It continues to adhere to the extended eye and the linear draughtsmanship and the spatial divisions of the fifteenth century manuscripts. It is quite distinct from all that we understand by the *Caurapañcāśikā* group and the early Mewar paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

With the discovery of the three leaves of a near identical style it is also possible to assert that the style was fairly popular in other parts of Rajasthan. Its colophon with a definite date and provenance gives us material to re-evaluate the deduction that the Western Gujarat or Apabhraṁśa School had seen its hey-day in the fifteenth century and had been largely abandoned by the 16th century by other contemporary schools.

The manuscript is also valuable for establishing the mobility patterns of the spread of the *Gīta-Govinda* tradition in both the visual and the performing arts. A much larger independent study of this is envisaged. It continues to follow a style which was largely abandoned in other contemporary schools, particularly in respect of the extended eye and the linear draughtsmanship. It is thus quite distinct from the *Gīta-Govinda* series so far identified as the *Caurapañcāśikā* group, Western Indian, Rajasthani, etc. belonging to early 17th or late 16th centuries. Altogether, it is a welcome addition to our knowledge and may help in establishing the mobility pattern in artistic genres in India during the 15th-16th centuries.

NOTES

[1] Mazmudar, M. R. 'A fifteenth century *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript with Gujarati paintings.' *Journal of the University of Bombay*, No. 12, Vol. VI, May, 1938, page 127.

He refers to the stone inscription of Maharaja Sāraṅgadeva Vagela of Aṇahilapaṭṭan, dated Vikram year 1348 (1291 A.D.) where a verse from the *Gīta-Govinda* is quoted. The inscription was found in early 1904 in Anavada (a village near Pāṭṭan) and is now preserved at the Baroda Museum.

[2] i)Mānaṅka's text is published by L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad, 1965, edited by V. M. Kulkarni.

ii) *Rasikapriyā* commentary of Rāṇā Kumbhā, published with the text of the *Gīta-Givinda*. Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1904.

[3] Mazmudar, M. R. *op. cit.*, pp. 129-137 and illustrations.

[4] *Pīyūṣa Laharī* text and translation by Pandit K. Kar. *Journnal of the Orissa Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 4, March, 1947. The author calls it a *goṣṭhī* in the beginning and *rūpaka* in the end. This was enacted in the courtyard of the Jagannātha temple.

[5] *Gītagopīpati* by Krishṇadatta, an imitation of the *Gīta-Govinda* in Maithili. See Catalogue of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. II, Ms. No. 38.
Other works of this nature in manuscript are in the Visva Bharati and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Gujarati versions are in the Gaekwad Oriental Institute, Baroda, collections. A complete listing is being done separately.

[6] Hein, N. *The Miracle plays of Mathura*. Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1972, pages 17-31.

[7] The set of early *Gīta-Govinda* identified first as Rajasthani and later as Jaunpur, has been described in detail by Karl J. Khandalavala, 'A *Gīta-Govinda* series in the Prince of Wales Museum', *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 4, 1953-54, and again in *New Documents in Indian Painting*, page 85, footnote 19, where he believes that the provenance of the manuscript is not Mewar, but Uttar Pradesh and gives the dating as 1525-1570 (and not 1610 A.D. as in the Bulletin Article). The N. C. Mehta series, in the Gujarat Society Museum, some leaves published in N. C. Mehta's article on *'Gīta-Govinda'*. *JISOA*, Vol. XIII. 1945. Two leaves of a *Gīta-Govinda* (c. 1575 A.D.) in the National Museum. Illustrated as figs. 201 and 202 of *New Documents of Indian Painting*. A set of *Gīta-Govinda* with parallel but not identical stylistic features (to the N. C. Mehta *Gīta-Govinda*) is with the Maharaja of Kankorali, reproductions of some folios seen through the kind courtesy of Shri U. P. Shah. The Saraswati Bhandara *Gīta-Govinda* belongs to the mid 17th century and the Maharaja of Jaipur collection series possibly also to mid 17th century.

[8] Parimoo, Ratan. 'Some unpublished early Rajasthani paintings.' *Lalit Kala* No. 17, pp. 1-13 and plates, particularly see editor's note at the end of page 13.

[9] These leaves have been acquired in 1977 and stylistically they are close to the Jodhpur Library Daśamskandha.

[10] Mazmudar, M. R. 'A 15th century *Gīta-Govinda*,' *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X, 1941, pp. 119-132. See Khandalavala, Karl. 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Marg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1960, and figs. 8 & 9.

[11] See footnote 7 above.

[12] Karl Khandalavala & Moti Chandra, *New Documents in Indian Painting*, figs. 201 and 202. They place it c. 1575 A.D.

[13] See footnote 7 above. Also N. C. Metha's article in *Nehru Abhinandan Granth* and illustrations and Khandalavala, Karl. 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *op. cit.*

[14] Unpublished, a separate monograph on this is envisaged.

[15] Unpublished, nearly 200 folios. A detailed study of this is being brought out separately.

[16] Unpublished but examined.

[17] Unpublished. A full study of this being published in the forthcoming issue of *JISOA*. Vatsyayan, Kapila. Illustrated manuscript of the *Gīta-Govinda* from Mewar, *JISOA*, Moti Chandra Comemoration Volume.

[18] Moti Chandra, 'Mewar Paintings', Lalit Kala Akademi, Pl. VI.

[19] *New Documents in Indian Painting*, pp. 54-55, and colour Pl. 10 and article on 'An illustrated Avadhi MS of Laur-chandā' by Rai Krishnadasa, *Lalit Kala* Nos. 1-2, March 1956, pp. 61-62.

While the *Laur Chanda* and the present manuscript share the common feature of the impression of a 'farther eye' there is little else in common. In the present manuscript the 'farther eye' is integral to the face and it is nearer a three fourths profile. The heavy bust and an attenuated narrow waist of the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Laur Chandā* are absent here, and so is the charactrstic profile of the series of paintings mentioned on footnote 7 above, and the *Caurapañcāśikā* of the N. C. Mehta collection, and the National Museum collection. All these belong to what has been called the Kulhadar group by Karl Khandalavala and are contemporary.

[20] Moti Chandra, 'Mahapurana of Digambar Naya Mandir', *Lalit Kala*, No. 5, 1959, pages 68-80, specially the two female figures in fig. 7.

[21] *Vasanta Vilāsa*, edited by Norman Brown, Connecticut, 1962, Pl. 5, fig. 10, page 164, and page 168, pl. 7, fig. 14.

[22] Compare with illustrations of the *Gīta-Govinda* series in the Prince of Wales Museum and the Kankorali collection and also with the several *Bālagopālastuli* series illustrated in M. R. Mazmudar's article. 'The Gujarati School of Painting and some newly Discovered Vaiṣṇava Miniature'. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. X, 1942, pp. 1-32, plates 7 and 9, where tree divide the spatial area. Our manuscript is closer to the Gujarati Vaiṣṇava paintings in this respect but treatment is different.

In the Digamber Naya Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa* trees are used for encasing figures in some folios (see *Lalit Kala* No. 5, *op. cit.* fig. 6).

[23] Mazmudar, M. R. *Bālagopālastuti Manuscripts. Journal of the University of Bombay,* Vol. XVI, No. 31, July, 1947, pp. 32-60, particularly plates facing page 56. Also compare with costumes in the *Gīta-Govinda* in the National Museum (of possibly 1575) reproduced colour plate 17 and 18 in *New Documents in Indian Paintings* and the other *Gīta-Govinda* series mentioned in footnote 7 above. The costumes of our manuscript are closer to but not identical with the *Bālagopālastuti;* nor are they similar to the National Museum folios of *Gīta-Govinda.*

[24] See *Colī* patterns of some marginal figures of the *Kalpasutra* figures from Devasāno Pāḍo (1475), particularly these of two top figures reproduced as fig. 91 in *New Documents in Indian Painting.* In contrast see those of the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda* and other late 16th century examples.

[25] The tightly draped *sārī* is evident in almost all the Indian type marginal figures of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and other *Kalpasūtra* as also the Gujarati Vaiṣṇava paintings. See the costume of dancers in the *Kalpasūtra* (painted at Jaunpur, Western Indian and Gujarat School dated 1465 A.D. *New Documents in Indian Painting,* Pl. 4) and Moti Chandra's *Western Indian Painting,* fig. 138 ana a different costume of the dancers in *Laghu Saṃgrahaṇī sūtra* 1583 A.D. (reproduced as Pls. VIII in Moti Chandra and Shah Umakant P. *New Documents of Jaina Painting,* Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Publication) and *Sārī* draping patterns seen in the illustrations of Mazmudar's article on *Bālagopālastuti* (*op. cit.*) as also his article on Vaiṣṇava Guj[illegible] Paintings. There is little in common between any of these and the *Sā*[illegible] [illegible]ing patterns of the present manuscript. A close parallel in both c[illegible] [illegible]nd some stylistic features is a figure from a folio of the *Mahāpurāṇa* in Digambar Naya Mandir (late 15th century) illustrated as fig. 98 in *New Document*[illegible] *Indian Painting.* The lady wears a skirt in this illustration and not [illegible] [illegible]ed dh[illegible] as in our manuscript. The skirt otherwise appears much la[illegible] [illegible] been pointed out by all these authors ; or the costumes of the women in fig. 7 of Moti Chandra's article on the Digambar Naya Mandir *Mahāpurāna, Lalit Kala,* No. 5, 1959.

[26] While there are several examples of this, we may draw attention to only a few here.
Moti Chandra, 'Jaina Miniatures Painting from Western India', fig. 139 and 141.
See *New Documents in Indian Painting,* figs. 56 and pairs of dancers in figs. 89 90. Also see Moti Chandra *'Costumes, Textiles and Coiffures in Ancient and Medieval India',* Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1973. Line drawing No. 37 on page VIII. The particular costume goes into oblivion in later Jaina painting of the 16th and 17th centuries. See figs. 8 and 9 of Khazanchi collection Catalogue of Sarasvatī Paṭa. For contrast see Shah, U. P. and Moti Chandra: *New Documents in Jaina Painting,* fig. 46 from *Laghu Saṃgrahaṇī Sūtra* dated 1583 A.D. where a radical change takes place.

[27] Mazmudar, M. R., 'Illustrated Mss of Bilvamaṅgala's *Bālagopālastuti.' Journal of the University of Bombay,* Vol. XVI, Part I, 1947-48, Pl. VIII, on page 57.

[28] *New Documents of Indian Painting.* Pl. 18(b) *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam in Delhi, dated 1540, where also a stretch of river spreads across the painting in a diagonal, and figs. 5 and 6 of Ratan Parimoo's article (*op. cit.*). In the latter, although the treatment is diagonal, it is more elaborate with many intercepting curves. Also see Anand Krishan's article on 'Pañcantantra Paintings' in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture,* fig. 11 (fig. 19) where too the motif is repeated. In the Digambar Naya Mandir the river is a horizontal area and the lake a circular area (see Moti Chandra article on *Mahāpurāṇa. Lalit Kala* No. 5, 1959, figs. 4 and 8).

[29] Ananda Krishna, 'A Pañcatantra Manuscript'. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture.* L. D. Institute, Armedabad, pp. 405-413.

[30] Mazmudar, M. R. Articles on *Bālagopālastuti* and Vaiṣṇava Miniatures, *op. cit.* The over-crowding is a compositional trait of all these. The present *Gīta-Govinda* is remarkable for the feeling of airy spaciousness it communicates through a new use of space and perspective. Inspite of sections, it breaks the boundary of fragments. A similar use of space, however, is evident in the *Bālagopālastuti* series in the Prince of Wales Museum (see Pl. VIII of Moti Chandra *'Studies in Early Indian Painting',* Asia Publishing House, 1975.

[31] Anand Krishna : 'Pañcatantra Manuscript', *Some Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* (*op. cit.*), pp. 405-413, figs. 1-15. (reproduced here figs. 15-20).

T. .t folio No. 1

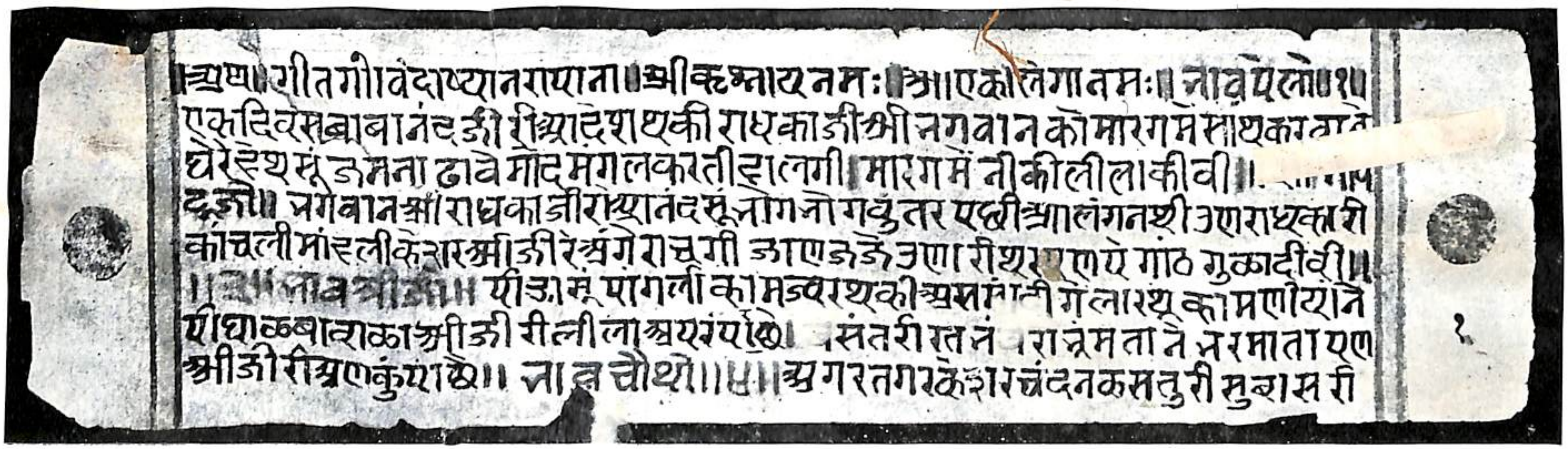
T ie first line pays obeisance to Kṛṣṇa and to Ekaliṅga, and des ibes the work as letters based on the *Gīta-Govinda*. Then beg is the narration from line 2 onwards:

B. a 1 (*bhāvas* are different sections or sentences and are c l so in the manuscript).

ne day Rādhā Jī a bā Nanda escorted Śı Bhagavān (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa the banks of the Yamunā, began the *āmoda* loving dalliance called *moda-maṅgala* here) and the two were involved in a lovely *līlā*.

Bhāva 2: After Śrī Bhagavān had satiated himself, he embraced Śrī Rādhā (*āliṅgana*): the passionate love-play filled Rādhā with the divine aroma of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's being. He is addressed as Śrī Jī throughout the work.

Bhāva 3 begins with an aboration of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and speaks of him as the giver of infinite joy to the disabled, the sick and others, including the beautiful maidens. Even the murmuring bees rejoice at the mention of his name. While the text of this folio describes the beginning of the journey of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and speaks of Nanda's order as in the verses of the *Gīta-Govinda*, there is no reference here either to the overc or to the poet Jayadeva, as in the original *Gīta-Govin* s there a reference to the Daśāvatara theme





Gopīs and speaks of Rādhā's watching the dance and her feeling of dejection. The Rāsa of Vṛndāvana, much in the style of the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*, is described here, although it is also obvious that these portions also rest heavily on Jayadeva's verses of the first Sarga, *prabandha* 3 and *prabandha* 4.

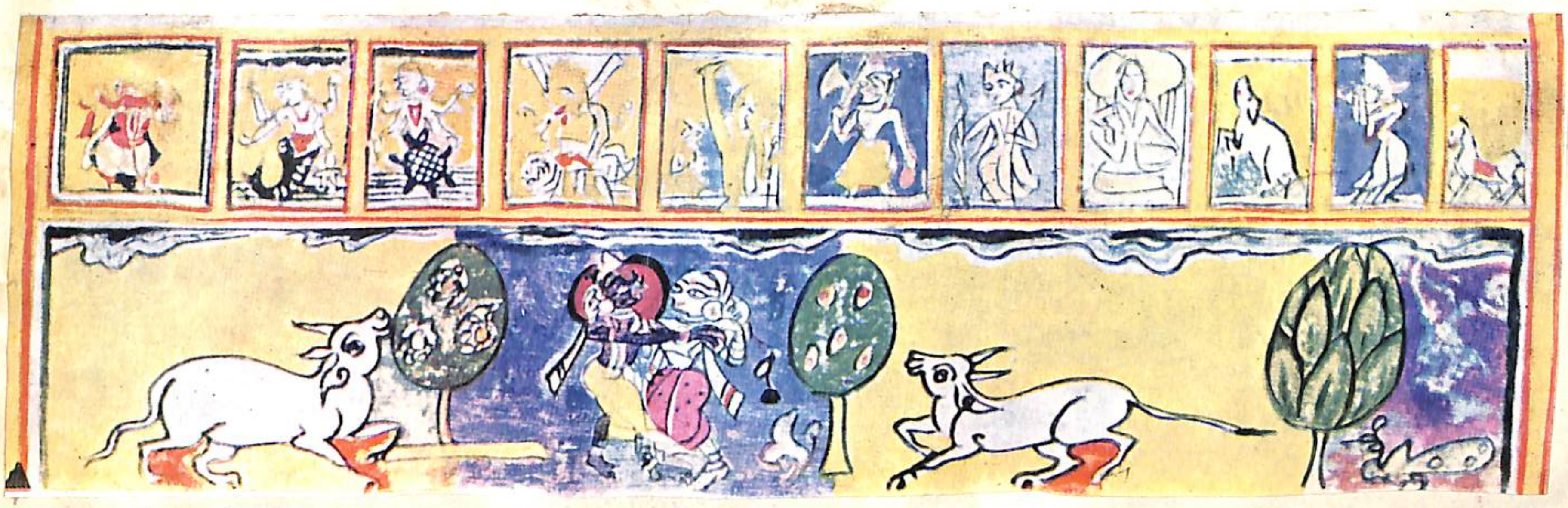
Illustration folio 5 : The area of the painting is divided into two sections. In one Rādhā is seen sitting solitary, dejected and speaking not to a *sakhī*, but to a parrot. In the second section Kṛṣṇa sits alone, accompanied by a parrot on one side and the peacock on the other. Besides, the vertical lines, the stylized trees, differentiate one scene from the other. The folio is in deep contrast to the two preceding it. The separation of the two is beautifully captured. While the red of the foreground provides a continuity between the two sections, the ochre background of the section with the peacock and the light blue of Rādhā's section are in deep contrast. The appearance of the parrot in both the sections provides the continuity in the folio.

Text folio 6

Bhāva 10 describes the intense longing of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa She addresses the *sakhī* and calls her a cruel friend find no way of ensuring a meeting with Kṛṣṇa. mises gratitude for life if the *sakhī* will bring he her. The description makes full use of the c conceits of Indian poetry for longing and of an impassioned fevered physical state. The heated torment of the expectation can be cooled says she only by a meeting with Kṛṣṇa.

Text folios 7 and 8

In *Bhāva 11* the scene shifts. Now it is not lonely journey of Śrī Hari along poignant description of the long resulted in blistered feet. Kṛṣṇa and woods and calls aloud for R be found. By and by, on t



COLOUR PLATE 2

Illustration folio 3

The folio recreates the poetic description of Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs*. The *Gīta-Govinda* verses, beginning *lalitalavaṅga-latā*, had provided the base for the prose rendering. The painter takes his cue from the Mewari-Bāgarī version portray Kṛṣṇa's spring-time dance with the *gopīs*. The fifteenth-sixteenth centuries manuscripts, especially the B. J. In tute manuscript, portray a *rāsa*, so do the *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations of the N. C. Mehta Collection. Our manuscrip different. Kṛṣṇa is seen with a single *gopī* in the first section of the panel. Kṛṣṇa is in a movement of the dance, *gopī* approaches him with out-stretched arms. There is a generous use of red and blue. The flowing scarves suggest and abandon. In the next section, a *gopī* dances in an *ardhamaṇḍalī* against a yellow background. She wears short seen often in the dances of the *Devasāno Pāḍo* marginal figures. Her coiffure is also reminiscent of many Jaina pain But the treatment is radically different. It is freer and more spontaneous. In the third section, a drummer and a are set against a mauve background. Again, although the stances and the costumes are all reminiscent of many ings of the Western Indian painting, this is altogether a fresh and free treatment. Indeed, none of the *Bālagopālastuti* paintings achieve this particular level of freedom and animation. Within the confines of the conventional line drawing, there is a feeling of expanse and freedom.



COLOUR PLATE 3

Illustration folio 4

The text describes Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs* in vivid terms. Illustration folio 3 and 4 translate this imagery in pictorial terms. The painter chooses carefully and is not slavish in his approach.

In folio 4, he is attracted by the description of one *gopī* drenching Kṛṣṇa with coloured scented water and two others dancing the *ghūmara* with him. Finally, the poet speaks of the enchantment of Kṛṣṇa's flute.

The painter divides the surface into three areas, each incorporating a single image. In the first the *gopī* joyfully pours water on Kṛṣṇa. Both figures are set against a yellow background: the colour of the halo of Kṛṣṇa and the blouse of the *gopī* balance each other. There is once again a pictorial play of the yellow and the blue (*pīta* and *śyāma*). Kṛṣṇa wears a short striped *dhotī*, unlike anything we come across in any of the *Balagopālastuti* manuscripts. The figure drawing is remarkable for its sense of movement and a carefree quality. The painter is, however, fully conscious of the laws of anatomy; this is clearly borne out by the taut torsos of the two figures who are placed in a relationship of paral diagonals in the spatial square. While the mood of revelry continues in the next, the scene changes. Now it is Kṛṣṇa holding two *gopīs*. The arms of all three are interlocked in a beautiful design. This is perhaps the *ghūmara* alluded to in the text. The background is now blue and green and not yellow as in the preceding section. The red of the halo of Kṛṣṇa and the red of the *sārī* of the *gopīs* are again balanced with each other. There is a sense of dynamic movement in the panel and a feeling of gay abandon. The stereotyped extended or farther eye is part of the figure drawing and is not yet a dissociated protuberbance.

In the third section, Kṛṣṇa sits alone against a rich blue background. The torso is painted in dark blue, the *dhotī* in white with a thin red border. This time he wears a headgear unlike the preceding sections. The blue of the background may represent the Yamunā and the tiny dark corner on the top the sky, the meandering paths of the Yamunā banks are painted in mauve. The painter displays an extraordinary sense of perspective in these paintings. This section is a splendid example of the sense of optical perspective seen throughout the manuscript.



COLOUR PLATE 4

Illustration folio 5

The spring-time dance of Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs* makes Rādhā feel forlorn. She complains to the *sakhī* of Kṛṣṇa's wanton ways. The painter departs somewhat radically from the verbal descriptions. He eliminates the figure of the *sakhī*. Instead he introduces a parrot. Rādhā sits on a white striped carpet, dejected but proud. Her emotional disturbance is expressed in pictorial terms through a dexterous use of stripes and dots which break the harmony. There is an effective use of white. Significantly, instead of a single colour for the background, several shades and lines are used. The Western Indian paintings on the Jaina themes had not ever resorted to this blending of colours of the background. Each was a strictly demarcated area. Here it flows from one section to the next. Also instead of filling in the outlines of trees and bushes with detailed brush work, he chooses to suggest these through dots and specks. The forehead mark (*tilaka*) of Rādhā and her ear-rings are also portrayed through the same technique.

In the second section, Kṛṣṇa sits alone, again conversing with birds and nature rather than human beings. The sitting postures of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are different each evocative of a state of separation. None of the paintings of the Western Indian paintings of the fifteen century make use of these sophisticated and relaxed sitting positions.

The background colours of the second section are interesting. The mauve background of the first section is continued in the first quarter of the second section. Although the colour of the background, along with the repetition of a tree, provides a continuity, the formal arrangement of the folio is two self-contained sections. Kṛṣṇa is seated against a dark blue background ; he is clad in a bright yellow *dhotī*: the same yellow is then repeated for the background of the last section where a peacock appears. An extreme corner of this section suggests the sky and the clouds.

Pictorically the panel is interesting for the many departures from the rigid conventions of the Western Indian painting. There is no overcrowding, no formal arrangement of figures, and no fine brush or pen work. Instead the lines are drawn with freedom, with a thicker brush stroke and a generous use of stripes, dots and curvilinear patterns. The use of colours is determined by the painter's comprehension of the mood of the theme, rather than a palette which uses colour purely decoratively. This is a major break-through.



COLOUR PLATE 5

Illustration folio 6

Illustration folio 6 departs from the description of the text somewhat. The text describes the long arduous journey of Kṛṣṇa and his arrival. Rādhā swoons and Kṛṣṇa restores her through his healing touch. The painter composes his picture on this last suggestion. Rādhā sits clasping her knees against a yellow background. Kṛṣṇa stands as if he has just entered and touches her forehead. An outdoor and an indoor scene are effectively recreated through the use of different colours for the background. In one single section, there are three different colours, each suggestive of a passage of time. In the next section, a vivacious Kṛṣṇa plays polo with a *sakhī*. Movement is communicated through the fluttering of tassels and scarves and Kṛṣṇa's leaning forward towards the *sakhī*. There are no parallels or antecedents of such a portrayal in any of the Western Indian paintings on Jaina or Vaiṣṇava themes. The painter of the illustrations of this manuscript displays evidence of originality and freshness throughout.

The first and second sections are finally contrasted with a single animated, beautifully drawn, cow against a red background.

A comparison of the illustrations of the several folios makes it clear that although the range of the artist's palette was not large, he employs colour with great sensitivity and discrimination. There is invariably a balancing of the red, the yellow and the blue. While each unit is self-contained, there is also nearly always a continuity in pictorial terms.



COLOUR PLATE 6

Illustration folio 8

The mood shifts in this folio. Kṛṣṇa waits for Rādhā expectantly. The *sakhī* persuades Rādhā to relent. The painter takes us to an indoor scene. Kṛṣṇa reclines on a bed: he is in a pensive mood. The night is suggested by the dark blue background and the solitary flower. The dark blue of Kṛṣṇa's body and the blue of his *dhotī* reinforce the mood of expectancy. Yellow is used in one half of the first section.

In the next section, the *sakhī* persuades Rādhā. A sense of agitation is communicated through the use of the varying shades of blue of the background and expressive faces of the two figures. There is in this section a very restrained use of red and a total absence of yellow. In the last section there is a solitary figure. The stance of the figure, the expressive gesture of a forefinger resting on the lip all recreate a mood of amazement. Unlike the paintings of the *Daśamaskandha* of a slightly later period, the female figures of this manuscript are all vivacious and animated. Each has a distinctive expression and an individuality. Few miniature paintings display this command over facial expression as in the present illustrations.



COLOUR PLATE 7

Illustration folio 9

The folio is divided into two equal sections, unlike the preceding one. In the first, there is further demarcation through the use of different colours for the background. Rādhā stands against a yellow background. Kṛṣṇa is seated under a tree, against a mauve background. She offers a gift of flowers to Kṛṣṇa. The red of the halo of Kṛṣṇa is again balanced against the red of the *sārī* of Rādhā. She stands with feet together. There is no fluttering and swaying of scarves and tassels. Kṛṣṇa's eagerness to accept the gift is delicately communicated through an unlifted palm. Throughout the illustrations of the manuscript, the painter gives evidence of a rare sensitivity to colour and movement. In this respect, the illustration does greater justice to the spirit of the original *Gīta-Govinda,* rather than to what the particular Rajasthani version literally demanded.

The second section is also further broken up into three areas through the use of different colours for the background. The blue almost fades into the dull yellow. The last section is in mauve. These three are set in contrast to the brick red colour of the ground. Cattle are drawn with a sure, clear brush stroke, with effective use of white. The tonality of the colours has a wide range in the paintings. The particular mauve is almost unique to this manuscript. So also is the particular shade of green which is used for the trees.

The shapes of the trees differ from folio to folio. In some there is a conical mass, in others an ovoid form and yet in others a round circle. There is no evidence of the branched trees characteristic of the *Gīta-Govinda* of the N. C. Mehta Collection, the B. J. Institute *Gīta-Govinda*, or that of the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, Collection, all belonging to a period two decades later.



COLOUR PLATE 8

Illustration folio 11

The text of *bhāvas* 14 and 15 describes poignantly the weakened state of Rādhā. She is compared to the setting sun, the waning moon. She is all shrivelled up with longing for Kṛṣṇa.

The painter recreates the mood imaginatively. He divides the folio into two unequal sections. In the first section, a *sakhī* and Kṛṣṇa are seen against a dark background. Kṛṣṇa stands aloof, while the *sakhī* appears agitated and about to move away. The halo of Kṛṣṇa is the only bright patch of colour, all else is dark and gloomy.

In the next section, Kṛṣṇa stands in one part and the *sakhī* with the portrait of Rāḍhā in another. Yellow, dark blue and red provide the background colours for the scene. Curvilinear lines suggest clouds. There is an effective use of yellow, black and red in the first portion. In the second half, the group of *sakhīs* form an interesting composition. Three stand with feet closed and outstretched arms, as if pleading with Kṛṣṇa who looks away. One of them carries a deminutive Rādhā or a portrait of Rādhā. The lyrical flow of some preceding folios is replaced here by a sense of dramatic tension. The figure drawing, the background colours and the juxtaposition of figures, all contribute in evoking a sense of theatre. This folio is a kind of *jhānkī*, a tableaux-like recreation of a dramatic moment.



COLOUR PLATE 9

Illustration folio 12

Rādhā's state of despondency and longing is recreated in this folio through a different device. This time the *sakhīs* are not describing her state to Kṛṣṇa. Rādhā herself is seen lying on a bed, obviously in a weakened state. Neither sandle wood paste, nor the rays of the moon will cool the heat of her passion. The painter divides the folio into three sections. In the first, a *sakhī* points at a lonely tree. She is set against a deep purple background, but the solitary tree is drawn against a yellow background. In the middle panel, Rādhā is reclining against a dark purple background. The small specks of red and the red of the bed and of the bolster, provide the relief to an otherwise despondent picture.

In the third section, a *sakhī* prepared sandal paste to assuage Rādhā. The colours are soft and delicate, appropriate to the mood. A pastel green and mauve provide the background. A soft pink of the *sakhī* is set against white and red striped flooring. There is an effective use of white and ochre yellow. This palette and colour scheme is altogether innovative and charming.



COLOUR PLATE 10

Illustration folio 13

The painting has a very distant connection with the text which describes the *sakhī's* pleading with Rādhā. Pictorially, however, the paintings are charming for their sensitivity and impressive for their technical devices.

There are three sections. In the first a child Kṛṣṇa tends the cows. He stands dark and short with cattle against a red background. The Yamunā is seen as a curve which cuts across the surface. Its gradually receding lines reflect a sense of optical perspective. In the second section, the Yamunā is restricted to a triangular area with a shrine in the distance. Rādhā stands clasping a tree with one hand and holding a garland in the other. The background is yellow.

In the third section, cattle are seen, with a Yamunā and receding hills in the background. The white cattle are set against a red background. The Yamunā is portrayed as two horizontal lines which cut across the surface.

The folio is significant for the manner in which the painter portrays the Yamunā in each of the sections. They eye of the beholder moves from the Yamunā of the first section as a curve, to a Yamunā as a triangular space in the second section, and as a horizontal cross section in the last. Also impressive is the manner by which the red background of the first and the third sections hold the three sections of the folio together.



COLOUR PLATE 11

Illustration folio 14

The drama of the lovers takes a new turn. Now Kṛṣṇa arrives, but Rādhā does not relent. The *sakhī* pleads with her.

The painter portrays this by dividing the folio into four sections, each with a different background colour. While the *sakhī* stands against a mauve background, with her arms spread out, Kṛṣṇa takes wide strides against a dark blue background. The halo of Kṛṣṇa, the ground he covers and the *sārī* of the *sakhī* are in red, each balanced spatially against the other. The use of the same tonality of red provides the continuity in the third section: here it is used as one smooth background. The yellow *dhotī* of Kṛṣṇa and his dark body are set in deep contrast against this deep red background. Cleverly the halo is suggested through a double circular line. In the last section, Rādhā is seen seated against a yellow background. One hand rests on her thigh and the other near her lips.

The painter uses colour skilfully to evoke different moods in each folio. With three or four primary colours, he creates many tonalities and shades, and each time it is a creative use of his palette. His understanding of human movement, as an indicator of the inner emotional state, is evident in the effective and successful use of stance and posture. There is also a fair amount of variety in the use of brush strokes. Sometimes the outlines are thick and heavy, as in Colour Plate 5. On other occasions, they are thin and fine, as in the figure of Kṛṣṇa in the third section of this folio.



...OUR PLATE

...lustration folio 1...

The text of the Jāur G... ...es a radical departure from Jaya... duces an intermediary meeting of the two ...ers. This probably arose from the ... ...ea

The painter is faithful to the Jāur text. In folio 17, he depicts Kṛṣṇa and ...ādhā in a ... embrace in the ... A floor-spread, against a red background, provides a touch of gaiety. Yellow and mauve are used for the ... Colour is asymmetrically distributed.

In the second long panel, there is again a separation. The two characters are seen almost bidding farewell ... other. The pastel shade of a sea green provides the background for a Rādhā, who is dressed in a brick red *sārī*. Kṛṣṇa ... placed against a dark background, which blends into a mauve. This juxtaposition of the green, dark blue and ... suggests a passage of time and the gradual parting of ways. The halo of Kṛṣṇa is the only bright patch of ... a constant reminder to the spectator that the drama is of the divine lovers and to be viewed thus.



COLOUR PLATE 13

Illustration folio 19

Kṛṣṇa has moved away to the banks of the Yamunā. Rādhā sits under the cluster of trees waiting for him to return.

The painter recreates the scene beautifully in pictorial terms. Trees, large and small, with deep green foliage, are set against a mauve background. A single brush stroke, or a double line, suffices to suggest the trunks. Rādhā sits under the shade of one of these, expectant, anxious but proud. The mauve background merges into the red. Criss-cross lines of her *sārī* are indicative of her inner agitation, her posture reflects her sense of restraint and outer composure.

The figure of Rādhā is in deep contrast with the vivacious drama of the second section where a *sakhī* is seen pulling at the scarf of Kṛṣṇa. A deep yellow background with small red specks frames the *sakhī*: and aquamarine background, merging into mauve, provides the setting for Kṛṣṇa. Fish swim in the Yamunā below and a solitary tree stands aloof as if watching the drama.

Although the two sections are self-contained, they are parts of a whole. With purpose, the painter provides a contrast of a static sitting Rādhā and a moving, almost running, Kṛṣṇa. A touch of humour and mischief adds to the charm of the composition.



COLOUR PLATE 14

Illustration folio 20

Rādhā continues with her complaints and her wild fantasies of Kṛṣṇa in the company of other *gopīs.* The painter recreates the scene through the pictorial device of once again bringing in a bird, the proverbial messenger between lovers. The three sections of the folio are clearly demarcated from each other and one does not blend into another as in some preceding folios. In the first section, Rādhā addresses the bird. A triangular section suggests the Yamunā, and, diagonally opposite, another section the sky. Rādhā stands against a pale green background and is framed by two trees. Everything in the painting cumulatively communicates an ill-at-ease feeling.

In the second section is recreated the mental aberrations of Rādhā, who imagines Kṛṣṇa with the other *gopīs.* Kṛṣṇa is seen with a *gopī* in a mood of gay abandon. A bright background, a dancing *gopī,* completes the mental picture.

In the third section, Rādhā sits under a tree with a snake. The curve of the tree-trunk frames Rādhā effectively. Deep mauve and yellow patches provide the background.

A comparison of the several folios will make it clear that the painter does not ever repeat himself throughout the twenty-eight illustrations. He introduces many variations to communicate the mood of the literary piece.



COLOUR PLATE 15

Illustration folio 25

In a preceding folio (Illustration folio 24, monochrome) Rādhā had cried out to the Yamunā and had said: "Are your waters not enough to drown me." In this folio, the mood is different. Rādhā arrives and Kṛṣṇa receives her with loving tenderness of the famous twenty-second *prabandha* of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda*. She must be tired. Hari pleads with her to place her feet on his head: *pada pallavamudāram :* These verses have inspired poets, writers, and painters alike. In the N. C. Mehta Collection *Gīta-Govinda* and the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, we see a Rādhā literally placing her feet on the figure of a diminutive Kṛṣṇa. In this folio, Kṛṣṇa is seen decorating her feet with 'lac' as described in the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda.*

In the first section, Rādhā sits on a striped flooring, proud, but loving, with her leg extended. She is set against a yellow background. Kṛṣṇa sits humbly against a dark blue background, holds her foot tenderly. The lacquer is suggested through a red patch which is of the same colour as his halo. His white *dhotī* is set against the dark background. The indoor and outdoor environment are sensitively portrayed through the use of these contrasting colours.

In the second section both sit on the striped flooring in close proximity. The background colour changes into a green and there is a feeling of sunshine and light in the section. Rādhā no longer sits proud: she is soft and tender.

In the third section Rādhā is adorning herself in front of a mirror. The mirror is placed against a dark blue background and Rādhā sits on a red floor, with a yellow background. The three sections of the folio are a beautiful symphony of colour and reflect a touching tenderness.

Indeed there is nothing stereotyped about these visual interpretations. They stand as paintings on their own and as excellent illustrations of the text.



COLOUR PLATE 16

concrete decorative motif. We come across this technique of concretising poetic imagery and even metrical patterns into pictorial terms in other sets of illustrations of the *Gīta-Govinda,* particularly in an early eighteenth century set of drawings on the *Gīta-Govinda* from Bundi. The *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metrical pattern is often seen in the drawings as a *śārdūla.*

In the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* illustration, the ambivalence of interpretation is evident, but the appearance of a lion is as decorative as symbolic at this heightened moment of the consummation of the two lovers. The motif is most effectively used.

In the second section, Kṛṣṇa sits on a throne and offers a garland to Rādhā. The god-head, having played his human drama, returns to the divine status. Rādhā is the humanity who sits in supplication. The symbolism of the red of the halo of Kṛṣṇa and the red of the *sārī* of Rādhā is repeated. The oft-repeated *lāla* (red) of medieval Hindi poetry appears to be the basis of the evocative symbolic use of the colour throughout the illustrations.

The compositional pattern, the figure drawing, the brush strokes and the palette have nothing in common with the *Caurapañcāśikā* style which had already come to stay by the time when the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* was created. Nor is the pictorial style a folk version of earlier Western Indian paintings on Jaina themes and Vaiṣṇava paintings. It has a distinct original personality, despite the obvious echoes of earlier years.

Motichandra and Kh two paintings uments of Indian *Paintings* as monochrome fi these paintings a the *Gīta-Govinda* set in the *Caurapañcāśikā* s um Collection. produced as Colour Plates 22 and 23 in the sam dates g 1525-1575 A D. of the illustrations of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* emporary dev ts, these tw erses during almost the same period, or a deca w receding, reflect a different tr verbal content. Plate 17 and folio 20 are the p al interpretation of the verse of the the eventh *sarga* the *sakhī* returns alone without Kṛṣṇa. Rādhā, striken with grief and cries alo sol my youth, my love is wasted.' The stylistic differences are self-evident and ha ed comment. for fig drawing, the spatial arrangement, the dress and coiffure, the trees and the foli re all different, only whi holds the two together is the poetic verse which is rendered pictorially. The pa of the Jāur G. -*Govinda* s sop sticated, but more sensitive. He recreates the verbal imagery through a series of asts. The painter of Pl. classified as one amongst the *Caurapañcāśikā*, has a more formal, sophisticated and l approach. His composit is rmally divided into the sky above, the stylised Yamunā below and the two sc dhā and *sakhī* in one section, and Kṛṣṇa sitting solitary in another section. The three-fourths face, the extended eye and the pastel shades of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* are replaced by an unambiguous profile transparent *oḍhanīs* and *chākadāra jāma.* Even if the provenance is debatable, can one deduce that one style led to the other, or vice versa, on the basis of the dates suggested for Pl. 17, and the clear colophon of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* ? Clearly the answer would be in the negative. The same negative conclusion would be reached if the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations are compared with the illustrations of the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda*. The only conclusion one can arrive at is that in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, there were multiple regional schools in evidence and that it would be erroneous to establish a unilinear chronology of development for each of the schools. This deduction could be supported through a comparative study of the several regional dramatic and musical forms of the contemporary period. If this hypothesis is not accepted, then one would be obliged to place the entire *Caurapañcāśikā* group of paintings much later than the dates so far ascribed to them. Obviously other circumstantial evidence supports the dates of 1525-1575 A.D., so far ascribed to this group of paintings. It would appear thus that the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* is obviously the last in the line of the painting school, called the Western Indian paintings. The school apparently continued until the end of the sixteenth century, before giving place to early Mewar paintings. Elsewhere, as in the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda* in the *Caurapañcāśikā* style, and Plates 17 and 18 from the National Museum, a more formal and sophisticated style of painting had emerged, where the format and the figure drawing, the foliage and the palette had all changed.

The Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations remain unaffected by these changes, although it develops its own individual style. The antecedents of the style have obviously to be traced to the Western Indian paintings on the Jaina and Vaiṣṇava themes.



COLOUR PLATE 18

The painting illustrates the third verse of the ninth *prabandha*. The *sakhī* tells Kṛṣṇa:

> "The strong wind of her own sighing
> Feels like the burning fire of love
> Kṛṣṇa, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion."

The painter uses two different compositional patterns. He divides his space horizontally into the sky on the top and the Yamunā at the bottom. The central area of the dramatic action is divided vertically into different sections. Trees are used as dividers. The background is one smooth pink for the entire section. In the first section Rādhā sits on a bolster with her long slender arms limp with sighing. Two trees and sprayed branches frame her. Her expression is blank and it has none of the vivacity of the Rādhā figure of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda*. In the second section, a solitary peacock stares blankly at Rādhā. Indeed, the mood of Rādhā is recreated more through the presence of the peacock rather than by the figure of Rādhā. In the third section, the *sakhī* is describing the state of Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa. Both hold one hand in *hamsasya*. The tiara of Kṛṣṇa is reminiscent of tiar as seen in some Moghul paintings, particularly the *Razmanāma*, but there are no other similarities. The arrangement is formal and decorative. Thus, although pictorially the painting is more sophisticated and the transparent *oḍhanīs* and other features of costume, coiffur, details of the trunk of the palm-tree, are indicative of greater painting skill, it lacks the vibrant warmth of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* paintings.

In the *Caurapañcāśikā* style, the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda* is the best. The paintings of that set reflect an inner and deeper understanding of the verses of the poem (see monochrome fig. 9). Pictorially, also, they are more satisfying as composition.


श्वसितपवनमनुपमपरिणाहं मदनदहनमिववहतिसदाहं॥३॥

MONOCHROME ILLUSTRATIONS

अथ गीत गोविंदाख्यान रा पाना

श्री कृष्णाय नमः

श्री एकलिंगा(य) नमः ॥

भाव पेला ॥ १ ॥

एक दिवस बावानंद जी री आदश थकी राधकाजी श्री भगवान को मारग में साथ कर वानै घेरे हैथ सूं जमना ढावे मोद मंगल करता हालगी। मारग में नीकी लीला कीवी ॥

भाव दूजो ॥ २ ॥

भगवान श्री राधका जी रा आनंद सूं भोग भोगवुं तर पछी आलिंगन थी उण राधका री कांचली मांहली केशर श्री जी रे अगे राचगी जाण जजे उणारी थरपण पे गांठ गुला दीवी ॥

भाव तीजो ॥ ३ ॥

पीड़ा सूं पांगली कामज्वर थकी असमांदी गेलारथ कामणियां ने पीचालवा बाला श्रीजी री लीला अपरंप(र)छि ॥ बसंत री रत भंवरा भ्रमता नें भरमातां पण श्रीजी री अणकुंपा छै ॥

भाव चौथो ॥ ४ ॥

अगर तगर केशर चंदन कसतुरी सुबास री उन तृमिली पग काम री केत री गंद ओत प्रोत ओतराण कामणियां नै मांणवा बाला श्री बंसरीवाला ने तीन लोक चौद भुवन जाण्तोओप छै। साख्यात कामदेव ने लारे बातबैग नागवेक हालता खाखरा रा फेफ'रीं पुसप जीस्या रतुंबा नष गदराता कुंचाड़ा पे गडोता पुठरा दीठे छै। चतराम चरचती फूतरीयां सोला सीणगार करती डावाड़यां तथा कामण करती मनचोर गोरड़यां ने मोहकांस में वांदी बणावता अने तस्तताल बजावतां गावती ने चंचला जेवी उणारी भावना फेरता गोविंदा थारी माया अपार छै ॥

भाव पांचमो ॥ ५ ॥

कामदेव रातीबा तीर ऊगता भागजेवी आभा केवड़ा री नाल सरीषी सेंगंध बाला कानजी घुमर लेमता छका ओपे छै। रमणीयां में रमता श्रीजी री नसनस उभावे छै केल री कामठी ज्युं लचकती आंगलियां बंसरी सुर उघाड़ता मन में भावे छै।

भाव छठो ॥ ६ ॥

कुंजमां रमत करु ॥ जमना तीरे तीरे लेरां सेवता चराचरह में वसतां श्री भगवान पण राधकाजी रो मनोरथ पूरता भगवान त्रीलोकीनाथ बसंत री रत लेरारियां बागा में रुपाला दीठे छै काची कूंपलां जटकातां सावण जेवी रत दीठी सावण की

डीकरी जेड़ा राता चेठा में अधर पधर दंसता दाड़म रा दाणा ज्यूं दांत फरकणी ज्यूं फड़कता चरणारवंद पपह्या ज्यूं बोलता मीठी बाणि माछली ज्यूं हालता नैन अंग अंग छलकती काया काला नाग ज्यूं बटमरोड़ा खामता घूगर माल केश काना कुण्डल सोवता कमर करंगती अन छैल कड़ी र बीजा कान माथे भंवरकड़ी ओपमा आवी शीश मुकुटधारी

मारो नाथ उरुला अंगवाली कमल पुष्प जेवी तरनाटा भरती झोटडियां ने मानतो मानतो माणतो दीठे छै।।

भाव सातमो।। ७।।

अरे राधाजी कोई पण सषी श्री भगवान ने मोहवा हेत दोय कुच फूलाय ने कुंचांरी सेम दरसावती रागणी सुर मां सुर जोड़ती गावे छै।। बीजी दाण श्री कानजी रे कोड़े जाय कानां में वात रे ग्रालषे (ग्रोझषे) बोला बाच्या चांपया छै। तीनी गोपी श्री कानजी रा मुषारवंद सूं ग्रीमरत वचनां री चावली डाठाणे लागवा लागी छै।। उणी ग्रोसर श्री नाथजी उणारा हाव भाव जोयता थका नष सुक माया छै।। उण ग्रोसर पे चौथी सषी वातां में लगावी भगवान रो ग्रंगा वछो दे छहेडयो तर पछी रो सोकड़ी माडी छै। पांचमी सषी पण कीम पाछै रेमती। वल लागती फेफ री कामी ने घोल संपडाती झारी ने उंदावी दीवी। सातमी सषी इण रामतरोल में वलसाय उवी ही ठवीलालजी री गलमाल ग्रने सीणगार रे ग्रालषे तन री ताप चड़वा लागी। पीतवरणी ग्ररसपरषती पण श्री जी रो काम जाग्यो छै।।

भाव ग्राठमो।। ८।।

हे गोपी श्रीजी कणी कणी सखी ने लाड लडावे ने कणी ने थरोज बंदावे ग्रने उणा सषीयां मासुं कणी रो हियो हलोरा भरे तथा जिणारो हेत भराये तिणरो कालजो ठंडो परो वुग्रो। जिणारो ताप बुझयो नहीं ग्रने--ग्रो मदी पड़ी विलाप कखु दीठे। कोइ पण काली गेली दीठवी पडबु पण कोई लत्ता वस्त्र फाड़वु जोवती ग्रने कोई पण दांते होट चबावती ने कोई पण नठो कड़ो मांडती दीठे छै।

भाव नवमो।। ९।।

श्रीजी जीण दाण बंदरावन मां रास रमता ने जणी जणी सू न्यारा न्यारा मिलाप डीला करता तिणी दाण राधकाजी मन मा वेर बांनबा लागवी ने ग्रकोली जाय मन मसोस उपर सांसा मरषा लागवी। कौड़े तणी सखी सूं विलापती दीठबुं।।

भाव दसमो।। १०।।

ग्ररे निरदेई सबी श्री पण कोई सूजना पड़े त कीम उपाय थी इण बनरावमां म्हारा जीग्रा (श्री) सूं जोग भोग। बणवो जोगबुं। थने गम पड़तो न दीठवउं। कोई पण जतन करे न कामाधीराज ने हजीज पगपरबो जोग छै। म्हारा ग्रंग रो हड़फूटण कीम मेटबउं। हैं बनी म्हारा ग्रंग उघड़वो जोग छै। उणारी वातां मीठी मन भावती रीं ग्रोलू ग्रावैं छै। म्हारा माथा महावर जोवता हरि ग्रोये छै। म्हारो कालजो उकोला भरतो ग्रावतो जामतो ग्रथरता भरबउ कीम क बाणक बणाउं तो थरता थाय। हैं बनड़ी थूं म्हारा हीवड़ा रा हांस ने तेड़बउं तो जनम जनम रो पण उपकार करबउं। ईम सखी री नेनां वरसवा लागवी। म्हारा माथा रा मोड़ कीम मने वसरावउं। मन बेठतो न मन घरोज भरतो मचकोला भरता जूलण जूलता नाथ चीते उतरावी जावउ। मन संतोष करतो नथी। म्हारा ऊगता दरता पण म्हारे सीला सीला डबोकड़ा पटके से। ई म कीम दयाड़ा भरता दीठबउ।।

भाव इग्यारवां।। ११।।

श्री हरिराधका जी सूं साप्यात करबा हेत जमना जी रे तीरां तीरां ग्रकोला पग डांडी पकड़ी पगारे फूला तड़कगीया पण राधकाजी रा सेनाण भी पाम्या होय तो मन घरोज बंद जामतो। चालता थकै हालता हार मान मन संतोष पकड़वउ कीम मारग मारग फवकतो कालजो न छलकता नैन मन री साष भरतो नथी। ईम राधाजी रा पुजारी कांकड़ मगरे डांडी उतर गीया पण राधकाजी रो मेल वुग्रो नथी। छोगतां छोगतां एक सषी जुमना रे ढावे उबी चीर सुखावती दीठबई तिण दाण लाजवंती ने श्री जी मन गांठ खोल राधाजी किण ठाण थरपत बुया छै बुजवऊं। सखी बोलती पण रीषाणी कहाय लभता हजी हारया नथी। श्री भगवान रा हाथ न दांव बोलावी के म्हारे लार हालो। हूं पण मेंट करायदी वउं श्री हरि सषी रे लारे हालीया पण सषी उमावा भरी सांतरी हालवा लागवी पण ठाकुर जी रे ग्रंगे तापती पग ग्रागे पड़ता नथी। सषी घके कुदड़की भरती पण म्हारा नाथ ग्रसमांदा जीम पाछै हांपुं धापुं दीठउ। सषी बोली मुरली वाला ग्रठे ही थरपना करावी तो हूं पण वले जाय राधका जी ने जाय तेड़ावऊं।। भगवाने थरता पड़ती कीम। सषी हूं मानतो पण म्हारो मन ग्रंगीकार कीम करतो नथी। वातां करतां मन राधका जी रे हीवड़े र माथ लागीयो की राधाजी री रीष ने भुलाबवी धीरे धीरे हालता हालता रुषी राधाजी रे जाय लाग्या--राधाजी हरि रुप जोय गाडी रीषाणी उसुकी भरती बोलावतो कीम। वनेत मूरछीत दांत पण जुड़ गीया। भगवाने सगे हाथां शीतल जल नाकबउं तिण वार चेतन थाय श्री जी हीये लागवी ने सखी री लाज करावी गम नथी हती एवी एवालीला करावउं। भगवान तणी माया रो पार पामता नथी। राधाजी रो कालजो हेमालो जीम शीतल परो पड़ीयो।।

भाव बारवो।। १२।।

तिणी दाण एक सषी श्रीजी ने ग्ररदास करी हरे मोती सरूप मोहन जी राधका जी ने रमावी र उणारी तन ताप हेड़ाबऊ। लाण राधका जी लाजवंती जीम मुरजावी छै। राधकाजी तनछीण वीणतन ताप ती वासांनर ज्यूं संलगाबऊं। है म्हारा नाथ तमे इण दाण मन री गांठ हेड एक जीव रा दर्शन गंघना रा स्वर दीठाबऊं। ग्रणा राधका जी तड़ाको पण मामतो नथी। छायां पण ग्रासंगती नथी। ईम करी ने इणा रो संताप दरण कराबऊं। चांदनी इणारो हीवड़ो चीरती जीम लगावी। कोयल री कोकाट पण कालजो उलजावती ईम म्हारी ग्ररदास ग्रंग थारो ने इणा रो ताप दरणा कराबऊं। हैं त्रीलोकी रा नाथ ईम राधका जी लगात ग्रो ग्रापरो नेहेच्यो धारण करी दयाड़ा

तोड़ावती ने आप रो धयान पल पल उमावो राषती पण वंसी वाला तिण पर भी रावरो धीयान इणारी वेदना तणो जावतो दीठावऊं नथी। इणा राधका जी ने अनतन री सुधबुद वीसराणी छै। इण परकार ज थारी जगती रा भाव कीम त मारे चीतें उतरावता अणी दाण तो इण पीतबरणी मीरगणी रामवो पुरोवऊं। हे माया औतार रावली छवी मांडे बगाड़े अने मांड बगाड़े रूप दर्शन करी पछी वीजा षट करावऊं। अणारो नेचो पण पूरण करीवो जोग छै। इणारो मन श्रीजी रा मोजाल अलगाडो छै। अनेक दाण नींदा में अवजगा भरे छै। हीवड़ा री बात पण तमे जाणता वीजता कीम थरता घड़ी छै। अरे रंगधारी वना रा स्राप लेवा हेत तुमारो पण कालजो कीम हंकारो करावऊं।।

भाव तीरमो।। १३।।

अरे केसूजी इणारी डील री गत तो समजो। इणा रे धारण रो वस्तर भार गमे छै। इणा रा करणफूल काल जेवा लगाड़े छै। इणारे मोतीमाल पण नवदाणा नव गोरा (मेरा) जीम लागे छै। तमारे काल जी रे तमे वीसरावी कीम। इणारे अंगे हड़फूटण लगाड़ी छै। इणारो तन फेफरा पुहय जेड़ो हे तो इण दाण सरुप कजरूपो पड़बी गीयो छै। हरे मोहन जी हरणी कांकड़ पर्वत माटे माटे दट कीदा छै पण परथी रा नाथ तमे कीम थरता अणावी रामती न थी। अरे चीत चोरां रा नाईक रात रात ये राधकाजी आकाश छोगावती ने सरंग रा सेंग तारा गणावती दीयाड़ा उतराड़ा छै। इणा राधाजी रा षटकरमां में पड़ी छै। एकज काम एकज नाम एकज रूप एकज भाव भगती तणों। जीवास छै। इणा ने ठंडा ऊनो बाव गमतो न थी। इणा ने मोहन रो मोह तणो वचार तणो वचार वंधती वेला हांसी हांसी ने रो रो ने घेरे भरावी छै।

भाव चोदमो।। १४।।

राधका जी केल री कामठी जीम टूटबऊं। इणा रा ऊना ऊना सांस माण रो ताप लजाड़ता दीठबउं। राधकाजी रे उणमणी गत उणारा मन री जांकी छै। सांजे पड़ता सुंवार उगवता माण तणी दसा छै। ने नां री छटा पण जूनी जेहड़ी लागे छै। सरूप कमलावी गीयो छै। अंगड़ावतां एक दीवस अढी घड़ी तक अवेत राधका जी ने वस्त्रलता रो ध्यान वीसरीवो छै। साथणीयां गावालत्ता ढापीया न शीतल जल जमना जी रो पण। छड़कावता चेतना अवाड़ी छै।

भाव पनरमो।। १५।।

राधका जी री भगती रो पार देवता पण पामता नथी। अरे रासधारी जी राधका जी आकाश पामोल एक थाय तो पण हरि नी रटना इक टक लागवी छै।। सरोवर री माछली नीर त्याग उछाला मरावी तीम राधका जी श्री हरिजी रा दरसाव री लाग लगाड़ी छै। पण केशूजी रा गाड़ो मन वज्र ने लजाड़तो दीठबऊं। हरे हरि जी लाडली रा लाड लडाय आप रूप दरसण परु पण कराबऊ तो नीकी बात बणी रहे। ईम पण सखी ओपमा भरती भगवान रे राधका जी अधकटी देह जीम हबकी सांसा भरती दीठ बऊं पड़े। हरि जी एक दाण नामेक राधकारे रूप हुंदी मोहनी ओस्ता नाल पलका ने भरी तिणी दाण राधका जी रा नैन जुपकीयां मार गीयां चो नैना री जांकी दरसणी छै।।

भाव सोलमो।। १६।।

सखी राधाजी ने घरोज बंधावी बोलबी के जनम जनम ना मीत हरि कोड़े उवा छै। पटहिरदे सूं नीकी वातां करावी जोइए तो तमारी जामना अने पूरण थइतां अने कामना सुफल वही जासे। इणी दाण रीषाण ओपाणी लागती नथी। रावले अरस परस हीवड़ री गांठ खोलावी कारज सार धरम धारखउं तो मनोकामना पूरण थाय एवी रीते सखी थकली वात वीचार जोवा हेतु सारी रीते राधका जी ने समजावी पण तो उणारी रीषाण कीम रज भर उतरावी नथी। श्री टुलक टुलक छोगता रीया बेही जणा नीची कणी रे लागे एवी मरजादै वंधावी ढसमस जोवता नथी। सषी री बैनावड़ी रो जाटता जोमन अचंबो चीतावी के कीम वैही जणा करड़ा वरद बांध हचकी भरता उठाणा आथुणा थइ गीया एवी रीते वा जांकी जोवउं पड़े। श्रीजी। पण हार हार मानता दीठबउं नथी अने राधका जी सेंग दीयाड़ा रीष आजेज नीकाल साष्यात कामदेव औवार ने जुकाय छाप भारवउं। वेही जणा ओले कोले जौवता भला पण मेल मेलाप री आगरणी करे कूंण।।

भाव सतरमो।। १७।।

सषी बैई जणारी मनोती करती हरावगी। भगवान ने जद हां करी। राधका जी रे वले लाग राधका जी रो चीर दांय वोलाणा के हूं निजे कोड़े आवी गीयो। तमारी म्हारी जीत कुण जोवती भला। म्हारी कोई रीते कमी थाई तेम षमा आपवउं राधका जी नारायण रे इण रीते बरताव सूं पीघली ने हिरदे खोल बाथां जेलाड़ीया। तीण दाण हरष में बेई जणा सषी री बातां बीसावी ने उण ठाम छैक हालगी। सषी रा मन मां—उभाव चड़ीयो के बेई सरवर एकमक संगम जोग जणावी। भारी भावना सुफल थावी। ईण दाण राधका जी श्री हरि। जी रा धणा ई प्रेम सूं जोटका जेलीया। मन मोहन पण रग रग ने बड़ा मन सूं राधकाजी री घुला दीवी। राधका जी बरसा री खांत छन भर प्रेम जुगां जुगां री घाती ओपमा लार लीनी।।

भाव अठारमो।। १८।।

वेही जणा ने संताप बुहो अने असनान बीजा करे ने षट कर्म न्यारा न्यारा हालीया पछी मीठी चोपड़ी वातां में ही रात रो उतराण अने राधकाजी सेजा रीसजवड़ हेत माय परवेश करावी। श्री हरि पण वले लागया पण राधका जी बड़ी फुरती सूं अडोकणो उडाणबऊं। तीण बैलां श्री बार हाल वीचार करव्यु के इणा रो काम कर्डो दृसे। थोड़ी बार

सेज री सजावट पूरण पेली ज श्री राधका जी रे वले ऊवा दीठवउं तो राधका जी बेई चरण पकड़ शीस नमावी अरदास करावी के आप घट घट री जाण वा वाला छो हूं। तो श्री जी रे दासी सीम जणावी। भगवान तीण दाण वड़ा चाव सूं हाथ गले लीवी राव काडी ने नष लीदा ने वाला वली वाचीया दीदा ने अंतकरण री बातचीत करावी।

भाव ओनवीसमो ।। १९ ।।

भगवान कुंज री लीला धारी पण हजि जमना रे तीरे तीरे धके हालिया। तिणी राधाजी रा मीठा बेना री ओलु आवी तिण दा (ण) धके हालता चरण धरती तणा चमकावी गीया। उणा रा संगेती अचरज करावी के कीम नारायण चरण उडगावता नथी। ईम एक संगेती कोड़े आवे पुछावउं के धके पदरावणी कीम करता नथी। श्रीजी दरसावी के भायला मारो मन राधकाजी रा हेत परो गीयो। उण रा तीषा नेनां रा कटाक्ष मने चीतराम जेहड़ो दरसाव दीठी म्हारो मन उठारे वले जामतो आमतो धरता कीम करावी।

भाव बीसमो ।। २० ।।

हे राधाजी केशवजी तमारी बाट जोलता थका पण दतचीत दीठवउं। उणारे कोड़े बीजी गोपकीयां उणारा कामदेव ने जगाड़ी दीवी तदी उआरी छवी उणारी वाशना चोगुणी वदावी दीवी। हरे राधकाजी म्हारी बाणी तीरे पण चीतां उतरावी पड़ती नथी। नाल भगवान पगमो लीया वड़ा मन वागे हसे। ईण कारण बंसीवाला रे वले लगावो सार छै। हे सखी नारायण रो जीग ज्यास बीजी त्रीजी डावड़ीया रे संगे रममे रो छै। म्हारी गणत करता नथी। ईम म्हारी आत्मा रीपणी के गांव री गोरड़ीया कीम पार पटकीवी। हूं पण रातदन एक करावी श्रीजी रा चरणावंद उजलावती तीम म्हारो नाथ भागोटीया नाई गीयो। म्हारा चैताहन छण छण ओजवीयां भरावी पण म्हारी आस-पूरवऊं कीम।

इणदाण श्री जी रे प्रेम री पारष परी पड़ीवी। हे सषी उणा रा निज मन री परीष्या लेवऊं। हरे राधका जी त्रीलोकी रा नाथ तुआरी आरथा भेज दन राथ षट करम त्याग बऊं।

भाव अक्वीसमो ।। २१ ।।

हरे राधका जी एवी वातां इणा जी ओपावती नथी। तमे लो हूं निजे लारे हालउं। तमारो जोग भोग री मेल करावी पूर छावती थाय मन री गांठां परी हेडा ओ श्रीजी तो पण तमारी बाट जोवता जोवता पण कई दाण चेतना त्यागवी। सेंग बातां त्यागेन हरि जी रे कोडे जामी मन चीती पूरण करावउं। अधरां पर अधर नैनां हूंदा नैन मिलावी जूमता कड़ीयाला केसतमारी रमत बना पण फीका दीठवउं। तमारी गत कीम तमें हाथोहाथ भांगवी। कतरा री प्यास बुजावी पोतारी प्यास पूरण करावीस तिणी दाण म्हारो संतोष पण पूरण थावउं।

हे राधकाजी थोड़ा दीवस तमारो रंग केसर जीम हतो पण हवे रंग जोवता नीको लागतो हन। चांदरी व चांदनी पण फीकी हतीं। तमारो रूप दरसाव पण हजि कुजलो परो पड़ावीस। तमें पण एवी आष्या मरावी के तमारो जीव तमने बाली लगाड़तो नथी। सेजां री सोभा वंदावतां ज तमारी ओपमा वदे छै। तमारी डांबी जांग फुडकावी पण जुवाड़ी नथी। कीम तमारा जेवान थान जमेरी जेवा [illegible] ाण तमने दरसावता नथी। तमारी धड़कावती काया पण ठंडी परी पडावी। अ[illegible] रो बनमाली परो रूठावड तो कीम जूण पूरी थाय।

भाव वावीसमो ।। २२ ।।

सरे राधाजी तमे म्हारी बात मा बहु वीचार करे न केणो मान हरिजी रे बले लागो। तमारी रूपसी काया रो रंग जो कावतो (जोवावतोन जालावतो) म्हाने गमतो नथी। तम्हारा हालता नैन ठरकावी ठरकावी हालता दीठवउं। हे राधका जी सांतरा म्हारी बात सांचवी परा हालबउ तो काम हारो थाय। इण दाण ठाकुर जी एवी रीत हांचबउं के जीम जलांवड़ी माछड़ी। हरे मानवण राधजी तमे कोरो मान मरोड़ रखावी तो पण ओपावी हन। रात कजरारी पण उटरावी। हवे हालवो सार छै।

भाव तेवीसमो ।। २३ ।।

भगवान तमारे पण प्रेम मां उगाणो आथमणो अने घराऊ लंकाउ दस दसा भालता व्हेला। तमे हालो परा। हवे कोइ बीजो मानवी छोगावतो नथी। भगवान तमारी सैंज सुंवारता तर नेनांथ इवई। तमारे वले म्हारी बात पण उतरावती नथी। हालगउ जोग छै। सूरज तमारी अवचेतनारथ पण जाण थकेहाल वषे लागीयो। तमे उतावली करीस। अरे चकवी परी हालो चकवो कीम अलापणी करतो संतापबउ।।

भाव चोवीसमो ।। २४ ।।

अरे। राधका इण वैलां अवछालो। तमारा कारज जोग हेत छै। तमें दीना नाथ री इंछा पूरण करता पुन सामटबउं। भगवान बंसी वजावता उणदाण उणारा अहोट पण जमाड़ता हन। वंसरी बेसुर राग अलापबउं।।

भाव पचीसमो ।।२५ ।।

एक सषी राधकाजी री बीरह वीलाप री ओसता श्री ने सुनावी के वणी राधका जी रे भोगे भजन री लड़ी वषरावी ने अवचेतना ती उणा राधका जी री वेदना तणी

ताप पण बढोतरीये छै। उणा रा षट करम पण अस्तवस्त थई गबउं। तमे वले जावी दुषहरण कीम करता नथी। राधाजी गेली समान पोते ही मोर पंषी बांद पोते ही पीताम्बरी धारी नै आप लीला कराबउ क्रेहूंज कृस्न जी ईम बेंडावली छै।

भाव छवीसमो ।।२६ ।।

हवे आप डीला पधारे [illegible] [illegible]धाजी रो कामजुर उतरावउं तो कलीयाण थइ जावई। कीण दाण राधा हंसोकड़ी [illegible] कणी दाण रुदन मां(ड)वी। कीण सांसूं ऊपर सांसां भरती अने कीण दाण [illegible] री रा ढूंठ जीम करड़ावती ।।

भाव सतावीसमो ।। २७ ।।

राधा जी सषी रे कोड़े वेट पीड़ा रो बरणण ईम करावी के सखी कानजी जेवा मानवी इण धरती पर थी पे बे चार बीजा अोज्यूं व्हेता तो उणारी निरदीता जोवतां धरती फाट जामती ने पड़लो थामतो। हूं सेंग रात उणी मोटकीया कदमा री जाड़ नीचे उड़ीकवउं पण कान जी रा सैन जुठी मूंठी लालकी पडामी। मारो जोवन जष मारतो उणारी आसा में अनरागवउं।

भाव आठवीसमो ।। २८ ।।

बीजी कोई लजोकड़ी रे वसीभूत कानजी आवीया न कोई वीजो कोई संदेड़ो तेडवई। ईम लागतो कोई बीजी गोरड़ी रे गले बले लागबउं। हूं बीजी दाण कीम धरोजवी।

भाव ओगणतीसमो ।। २९ ।।

लीलाधारी रूप जड़ी डावड़ीया रे माथे सीसफूल अने काने कुंडल तथा उणारे बीजा गेणा गांठा री जांकी लटकावटा राधा जी ने चीतां उतरावी दीवी। ईम गंज डावडीया भगवान रे ओड़े कोड़े जमघट मांडवी ।।

भाव तीसमो ।। ३० ।।

राधा जी जमना जी ने वीलापती वोलावी कई थारो पाणी ओछो पड़ावी थूं मने समावती कीम नथी। पवन थूं पण कीम मारो कालजो काढतो नथी। म्हारी पण परतीज्या छै धेरे ईम जामवऊं नथी।

भाव अगतीसमो ।। ३१ ।।

हे भासुता जी राधाजी भगवान डीलां ही तहारे सेणा हंदा ठाण आवीया। हवे तो मनछा पूरण थई जासे। कोई ईजी बातां बीजी चीतां हन करे। तत्छण सामांलेवी ने मनोरथ सादता पूरवउं। प्रीया रा संगे चरत बताड़ी ने वसीकरण करबउं।

भाव बेतीसमो ।। ३२ ।।

मुरली वाला री ली(ला) अपार छै। उणी वेलां राधाजी ने आदेश थरपीया के तमे मने मन मावतो डंड भलावउ। हूं पूरी पालना करीस। हूं विसावी गीयो हतो। नष तणा गोडो। तत दीता ती गाओ। अने हाथां वाथां भरावी म्हारो मान मरदन कराव र तमारी जीम मनोछा माय संग तमारी गाय जीम बांधबु पड़े बंधाणो। तरपछी सूं करीस। तमारो संतोष ज्यू-थाय ओपावी हूं तो ईणा चरणा रे पोथी रो रंग परचबउं। मारी आस पुरावी तो मारो संताप छुटावी ईम श्री जी बोलावीया ।।

भाव तेतीसमो ।। ३३ ।।

तमारा काला कजरा नेन अने तीषी भांपणी मन भामती पुठरी ओपाणी। तमारा रातूंबा होट अने काली नागणी लजावता केस मने आंसंगता दीठवु। तमारी मीठी ईमरत वाणी पण म्हारो हेंचावी। तमारा सोला सीणगार धके वीजा कोई केई नथी।

भाव चौत्रीसमो ।। ३४ ।।

हूं कामांध तमारी छाली जीम छूं। कनावती हेंचीने (देवी ने) संताप हरणो जोग छै। तमारा पांच बाण मन बींधावी कातर करीस। तमारा सूवटा जेगा नाक अने संष जेवी ठोडी कमल लजाड़ता नैन अन वंसी पुरबता बेण जमेरी तणा कुचाड़ा केहरी तणी कमर गजराज हंदा नितंबु अने काची कुंपल जेवी आंगलीयां मेघडंबर सी पाम रूंवाटी मारो अहोभाग्य। हमें तमारो मेलाप पुरबला नीका करमां जोग छै। वीधाता रो रण म्हारे माथे चोढबउं ।।

भाव पैंत्रीसमो ।। ३५ ।।

अरे कनकलता राधाजी तमारी पूछना श्री जी रा मु(खा) रबिंद थी सुणाबउं तो तमे धके हालो। तमारे डोडी पे माघू जी तमारी वाटनालता तमने जोवाड़े। तर पछी कीम हालता नथी। ईम ओसर चुकाड़बउं नथी ओपता कामदेव रा ओंतार उडीकता सोदे छे।

भाव छैत्रीसमो ।। ३६ ।।

हे राधाजी पायल री गीतावली कान जी रे काना सोभती तेडावती। तमारा हथंफूल पण ठाकुर जी ने दीठाबउं। तमने केसूजी पण जोवाड़वा हेमे तेड़ावीया छै।

हवे ओज्यु (ल्युं) ओजांषो घड़ी गीयो से भगवान ने तमारा बार बार अवजांष पड़े भांमे भांत रा वीचार आवती बार बार तुमारीज रट जोड़ला छै।।

भाव सेत्रीसमो।। ३७।।

राते रात ठाकुर बले आवीया अने तमारा भाग पण हजि दरसण हेत जागीया नथी। ईम घेरयवीयणे अतथ सत्कार करबउं जोग छै। अने म्हारी बात गले उतरावती न थाय तो तमारा नरनारायण पर्वत जेवा दी कुचा (दीकुंवा) ने पूछबउं कीम कामज्वाला तठे भड़काणी। उणा बे नाक हृंदा नथुणा ने बुजवउ उनी तर उनी सांसो नीसवता। सांच बोलाणा छै। सषी करड़ी पर सांच माष्या मरम। वांढती उतरावी।।

भाव अठत्रीसमौ।। ३८।।

राधाजी पोते ही चरणाविंदा पे जामती पूठरी ओपावी। तरे भगवान दरसाव करी संपाडा हेतु चालबउं। राधाजी जमनाजी कोडे हालया लागवी। मारग मारग ज्यूं डीगा भरावी। तीम डीगे डीगे भगवान रा अवजांषा पड़बउं।।

भाव ओनचवालीसमौ।। ३९।।

राधाजी भगवान रा दरसण करावी तिण दाण प्रेम भरी दरसावता नेना सूं नीर उवक पड़ावी। के सूजी पण पोते नेन भरावी दीवी। इण प्रकारे श्रीजी पण पीघलावी गीया हता।।

भाव चालीसमौ।। ४०।।

प्यारी राधाजी घणी दूरा थी आवीया (था) एम तमे थाकवीस। हूं तमारा कोमल चरण दबावी थकावटी ओछी करबउं। हे प्राण पीयारी तमारा बंधावी वस्त्र हूं परा उघाड़ी कीम तमारी बंधाव ढीली थइ जासे।

भाव एकचालीसमौ।। ४१।।

राधाजी उण दाण कामी भाव भरावी वीणी वेलां हाव भाव भरी केसूजी माथ पुरुष रूप भोग भोगावती इक सासा परी भरावी। कीम करतां भी पुरुष जीम ना थावी। उण री जांघा पाटवी ने नैंन पर उबकीयां भराता ने धड़काव पण बढातरी पकड़ावीस। भगवान कीम ओछा पड़ावी। हटकै सेज्जां री नेज पण पटझटका तोड़ावी छै। वीजा दयाड़े ऊगमता भाण प्यारी जी रा नैंन परा रत्याड़ा अने अंगे अंगे टूटण परी पड़ावी। भग (वान) सुंवारे दीठबउं के राधाजी री कांचली अधराड़ी तो भगवान तत्क्षण कामभूत परो चढावी। ईम राधाजी री मानी देह अनेक बार चतमन सूं भानणी (तावणी) करावी। धन्य द्वारका रा नाथ तमारी पण लीला अपरंपार छै। तमारा प्रेम रस थके द्राष पण फीकी पड़े, इमरत भी लजाड़तो मघ नी मीठास ओछु पड़ावीस श्री भगवान गोविंद री जांकी रा पानां कवराज जयदेव जी री गीत गोविंद री लिषत रौ सार रूप छै।।।।।।।। मम दोषो न दीयते।। इती शुभ्म।।

।। संवत १६५० फागुण शुक्ला ७ रविवार ग्राम जाउर मध्ये भक्तजन पठनार्थ।।
०।। जो (शी) कीरतदास चतराइ चरची।।